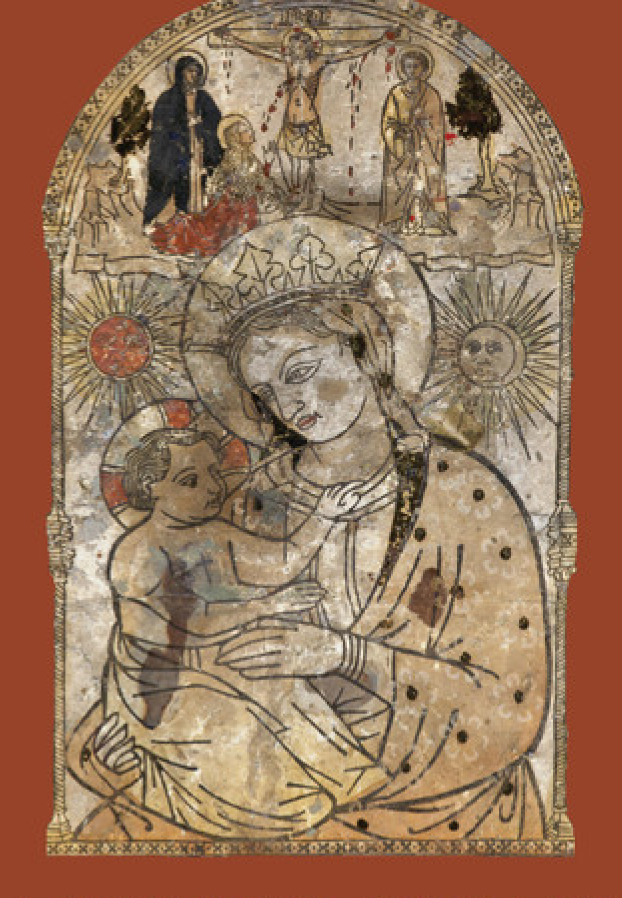


A PRINTED ICON IN EARLY MODERN ITALY

Forlì's Madonna of the Fire

LISA PON

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In 1428, a devastating fire destroyed a schoolhouse in the Northern Italian city of Forlì, leaving only a woodcut of the Madonna and Child that had been tacked to the classroom wall. The people of Forlì carried that print – now known as the Madonna of the Fire – into their cathedral, where two centuries later a new chapel was built to enshrine it. In this book, Lisa Pon considers a cascade of moments in the Madonna of the Fire's cultural biography: when ink was impressed onto paper at a now-unknown date; when that sheet was recognized by Forlì's people as miraculous; when it was enshrined in various tabernacles and chapels in the cathedral; when it or one of its copies was – and still is – carried in procession. In doing so, Pon offers an experiment in art historical inquiry that spans more than three centuries of making, remaking, and renewal.

Lisa Pon is an associate professor in the Department of Art History at Southern Methodist University's Meadows School of the Arts, where she teaches the history of early modern European art, architecture, and visual culture. She has received research grants or fellowships from the American Council of Learned Societies, the Gladys Krieble Delmas Foundation, the American Philosophical Society, the Center for the Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, the Getty Research Institute, and the Warburg Institute. She has published numerous articles in international academic journals and is author of *Raphael, Dürer, and Marcantonio Raimondi: Copying and the Italian Renaissance Print* (2004) and coeditor of *The Books of Venice/Il Libro Veneziano* (2008, with Craig Kallendorf).

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CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013–2473, USA

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107098510

First published 2015

Printed in the United States of America

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data
Pon, Lisa.
A Printed Icon in Early Modern Italy / Lisa Pon, Southern Methodist University.
pages cm
ISBN 978-1-107-09851-0 (Hardback)
1. Madonna of the fire. 2. Wood-engraving, Italian–15th century. 3. Mary, Blessed Virgin, Saint–Art. 4. Jesus Christ–Art. 5. Veneration of icons–Cult–Italy–Forl?. I. Title.
NE958.3.I8P66 2015
769′.4855094548–dc23 2014042756

ISBN 978-1-107-09851-0 Hardback



Publication of this book has been aided by a grant from the Millard Meiss Publication Fund of the College Art Association, a Renaissance Society of America-Kress Publication Grant, and a Sam Taylor Fellowship.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Ever since the fateful fire of February 4, 1428, the Madonna of the Fire has been a beacon bringing many people together into productive communities. This book proves that its power is still potent: many colleagues and friends have drawn together around this project, generously supporting my long years of research and writing about the Madonna of the Fire. I thank them all but can name only a few here. I especially acknowledge those who have made my time in Forlì a pleasure: Giorgio Liverani and his family, Antonella Imolesi and the staff of the Fondo Piancastelli of the Biblioteca Comunale "Aurelio Saffi," Fiorenza Danti and the staff at the Archivio di Stato di Forlì, Frederica Rizzoli, Franco Zaghini, the late Livio Lombardo, and now "Pete" Zattoni. Others scattered across the globe also helped this project progress, including Emily Anderson, Paul Barolsky, Molly Bourne, Marjorie Cohn, Lauren Dodds, Michael Gaudio, Adam Herring, Evelyn Lincoln, Rheagan Martin, Mia Mochizuki, Jun Nakamura, Adrian Randolph, William E. Wallace, Saundra Weddle, Aidan Weston-Lewis, and Annemarie Weyl Carr. Stephan Wolohojian helped me resolve to finish this book, and Barnaby Nygren helped me to do so as well as I could.

This research was made possible by fellowships from the Warburg Institute, London; the Bibliographical Society of America; the Getty Research Institute; the American Philosophical Society; the New York Public Library; the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts at the National Gallery of Art, Washington DC; and the UCLA Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies; as well as Sam Taylor Fellowships, grants from the Department of Art History, the University Research Council, Meadows School Faculty Development Fund, and Ford Junior and Senior Research Fellowships at Southern Methodist University.

Earlier versions of some material in Chapters 4 and 7 appeared in my article, "Place, Print, and Miracle: Forlì's Madonna of the Fire as Functional Site," published in the June 2008 issue of the journal, *Art History*. At Cambridge University Press, Beatrice Rehl's enthusiastic response made me feel the manuscript was in the right hands, and Asya Graf and Isabella Vitti oversaw an expeditious production of this long awaited book. Margaret Puskar-Pasewicz of MargaretEdits undertook the copyediting with efficiency and professionalism.

The roof of the eighteenth-century Palazzo Merenda, which houses the incomparable Fondo Piancastelli of Forlì's Biblioteca Comunale "Aurelio Saffi", collapsed in November 2012, making me painfully aware of the fragility of the institutional resources on which we depend. I hope this book in some measure illuminates the richness of that collection, and the need to support it and others like it.

Finally, I must thank the late Karl Kilinski II, who showed me how to finish a book, and Jim and Ted, who have joined me in filling our home with the happy work of writing.

Cambridge, Massachusetts
July 2014

A Printed Icon in Early Modern Italy



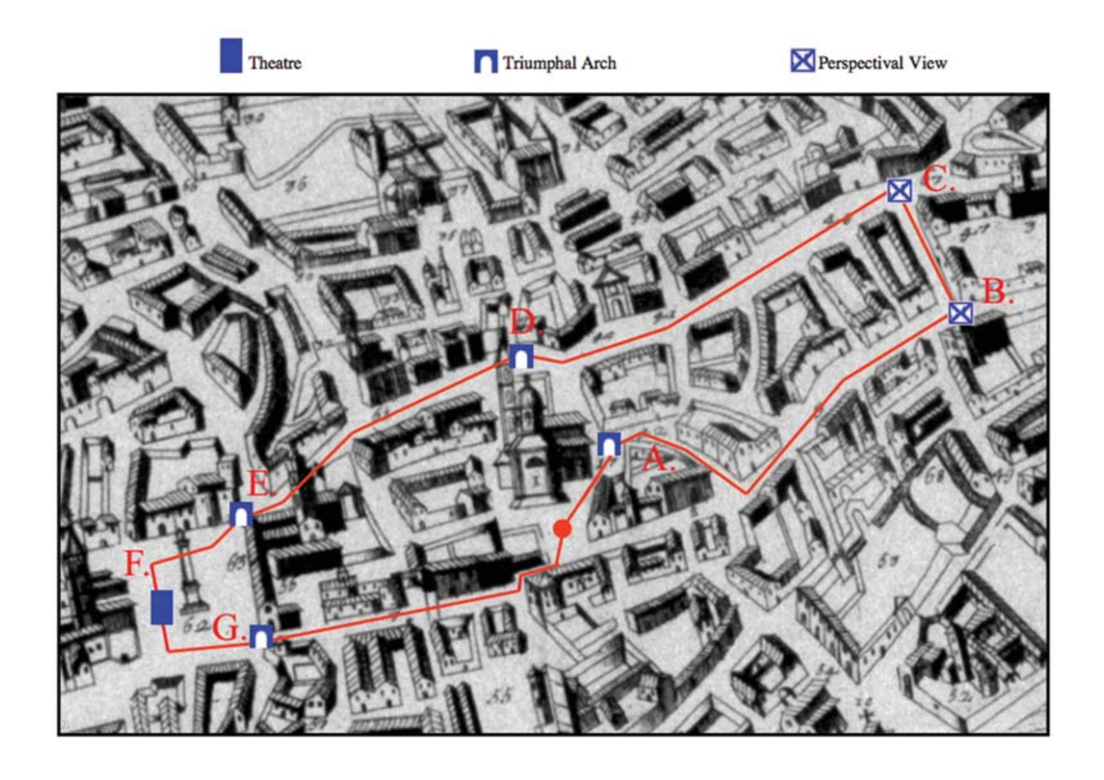
Color Plate I. Madonna of the Fire. Cathedral of Santa Croce, Forlì, Italy.
Photo: Liverani



Color Plate II. Nicolangelo Scianna. Digital reconstruction of the Madonna of the Fire. Courtesy of Prof. Nicolangelo Scianna.



Color Plate III. Giovanni di Mastro Pedrino, *The Miracle of the Madonna of the Fire*, ca. 1450–60. Tempera on panel. 71 cm × 135 cm. Tesoro, Santa Croce, Forlì.
Photo: Liverani

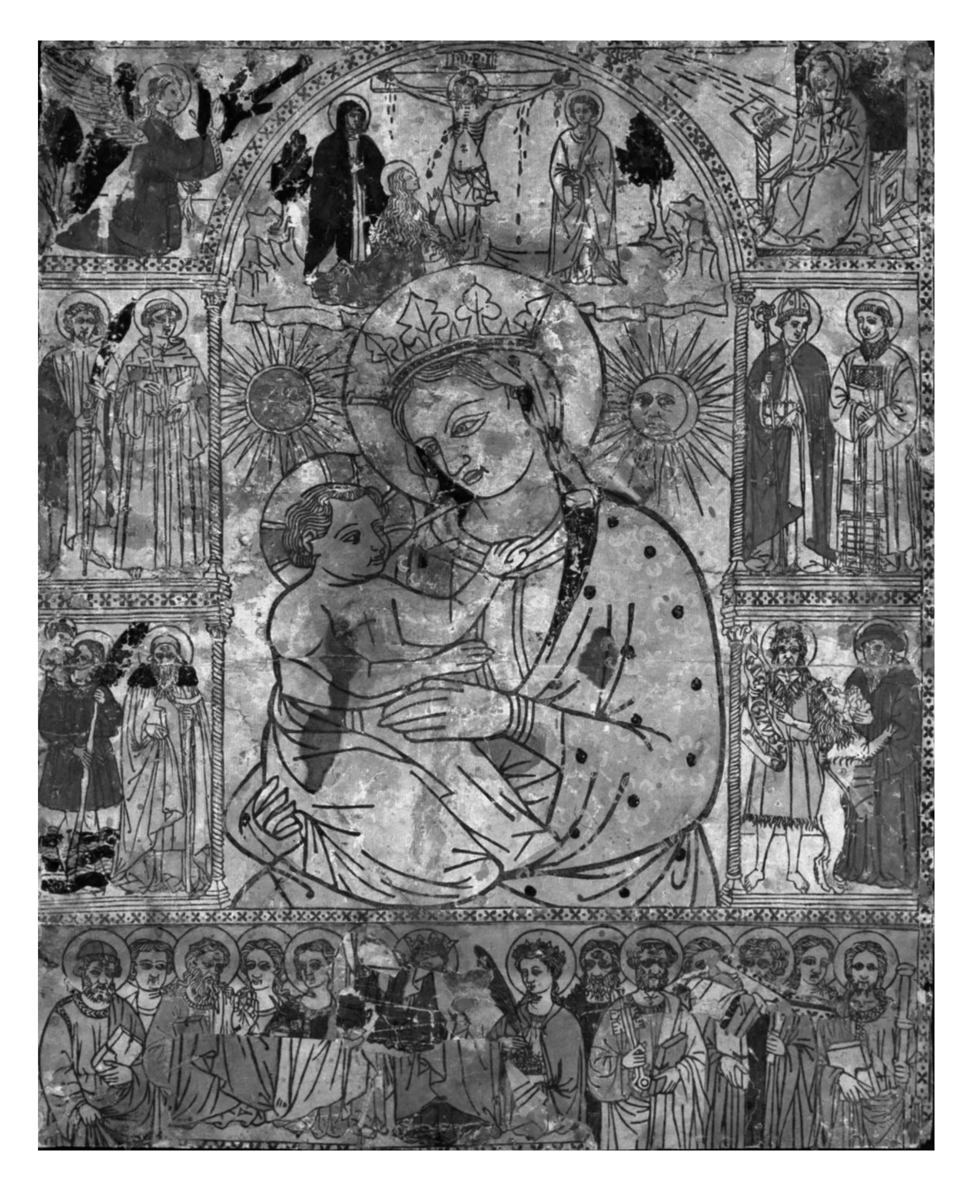


COLOR PLATE IV. 1636 processional path marked in red on a detail from Vincenzo Coranelli, *Map of Forlì*, 1694. A. First arch. B. First perspective view. C. Second perspective view. D. Second arch. E. Third arch. F. Theater. G. Fourth arch

INTRODUCTION: ART, ICON, PRINT

> The best-known print in early times was certainly the miraculous woodcut of Forlì in northeastern Italy that became known as Our Lady of the Fire. It is the subject of the earliest monograph on a printed picture . . . Giuliano Bezzi's *Il Fuoco Trionfante*, printed in 1637 at Forlì. . . . By 1636 eighteen thousand scudi had been spent to complete a charming chamber [in the cathedral to house the Madonna of the Fire] about twenty-five feet square under a cupola fifty feet high – the world's first and still handsomest print room.
>
> A. Hyatt Mayor, "The First Famous Print"[1]

The woodcut known as the Madonna of the Fire (Color Plate I) was never kept in a print room. Nailed to a wall in a schoolteacher's house in Forlì early in its history, in 1428 this image of the Madonna and Child surrounded by other saints and holy scenes was taken into the city's cathedral after surviving an accidental but devastating fire at the schoolhouse – an event that was understood by the local population as a miracle. This print remains in Forlì's cathedral today, preserved in a tabernacle over the altar in the chapel dedicated to it, so for all we know of its existence, the woodcut was seen and stored in either a domestic or ecclesiastical setting. But A. Hyatt Mayor, the mid-twentieth-century curator of prints at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, makes clear through his use of hyperbole one of the longstanding tensions in the discussions of this print.[2] As a work of art, displayed in the modern museum; a printed image, kept in a cabinet of pictures produced with a printing press and other works on paper; and a cult icon, the focus of organized communal religious devotion; the Madonna of the Fire occupies the intersection of three potent



Color Plate I. Madonna of the Fire. Cathedral of Santa Croce, Forlì, Italy. Photo: Liverani

categories of manufactured things: the nexus of aesthetics, technology, and religion. This triple ambivalence makes the Madonna of the Fire both an uncomfortable and a riveting subject for an art historian.

This is of course not to say that the overlapping categories of art, icon, and print have been neglected by art history, though they have usually been studied in pairs. Bartsch's figure of the *peintre-graveur*, the artist who paints and also makes prints which are therefore also art works, on the one hand, and the concept of the reproductive print, ever a second-hand copy of a more illustrious

original, on the other, were really different sides of what has been a long-standing debate about the status of the printed picture as a work of art. Recent studies, including my earlier work on Raphael and Marcantonio Raimondi, have sought to demonstrate that some Renaissance prints, even when not engraved by a painter, were indeed works of art.[3] Other scholars have emphasized the prints that functioned primarily as means of visual communication; designated by the period term *imago contrafacta*, these prints served primarily as bearers of information.[4]

Considerations of printing in the service of religion also have a distinguished historiography. Elizabeth Eisenstein argued in her groundbreaking 1979 book, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, that the Protestant Reformation was possible in part due to print's ability to effect a broad and timely dissemination of texts and images.[5] More recent scholars have reversed the equation to suggest that Reformation practices developed a reading public for printed texts and have extended the analysis to England and France.[6] If the effects of Luther's 1522 New Testament have been long studied, recent discussions of the King James Bible have suggested that the motivations behind that 1611 printed English translation were part of the newly ascended James I's plan "to establish a degree of religious uniformity in his kingdoms."[7] Beyond these studies, the uses of early European printed pictures in religious devotion have recently been explored by scholars including Rainer Schoch, Peter Parshall, David Areford, and Walter Melion. These and other scholars have focused their attention on the relationships between print and early modern religion – even if the study of print and the cult icon per se has not been extensively undertaken, and recently indeed undercut as what Michael Cole and Rebecca Zorach called an "abstracted, 'chastened' image."[8]

Furthermore, Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood have highlighted late-fifteenth-century prints, such as the *Madonna in the Robe of Wheat Ears*, which bear self-referential inscriptions stating, in this instance, "The image is the image of Our Beloved Lady when she was in the temple" [*Das bild ist unser lieben frauen bild als sie in dem tempel war*]. Prior to print, according to Nagel and Wood, handmade objects could be part of an unending substitutional chain of objects in which every one was interchangeable with any other, all of them referring ineluctably to a remote origin.[9] During the course of the fifteenth century, this perfect interchangeability was rendered impossible by print's specificity and the type of self-conscious captioning exemplified by the inscription on the *Madonna in the Robe of Wheat Ears* woodcut: if a painted copy of a Marian icon could be a substitute, in Wood's words, "effectively identical to the others," a woodcut of that icon printed around 1500 in Pforzheim in southwest Germany "does not quite dare to offer itself as such a token [of substitution]. . . . Print converted devotion into an antiquarian project."[10] In this way the chain of substitution was broken by print during the fifteenth century, after which instead of being "substitutive," works became

"performative," with their discrete moment of origin arising from their maker's productive performance. Rather than focusing on this cataclysmic role, this study looks at Forlì's Madonna of the Fire as a case of an early-fifteenth-century print, which as an icon, subscribes exactly to the strategy of substitution: the exact date of its material facture is hardly of any importance to its early viewers compared to its potent link to other Marian icons and ultimately to Mary herself.

This brings us to art and the sacred image, an issue that is especially vexed in Italian Renaissance art, ever since Jacob Burckhardt's mid-nineteenth-century characterization of the Italian Renaissance as a secular phenomenon. For sacred art to function, Burckhardt wrote in the *Cicerone:* "The religious element can only assert itself by claiming absolute sway. In itself a negative quantity, it shrinks to nothing when brought into contact with the profane; and when profane elements are purposely introduced into art the picture necessarily ceases to be religious."[11] Thus, early Renaissance art with its depiction of details from daily life in biblical narratives became, in Burckhardt's influential view, essentially removed from religious concerns.

If Aby Warburg's expansive scholarship on, for example, ex votos in fifteenth-century Florence refocused art historical attention on sacred images,[12] a pair of influential studies published around 1990 continued to emphasize a clear distinction between art and icon in the period roughly between the early fifteenth and early eighteenth centuries, the time frame of my book. David Freedberg's *The Power of Images*, first published in 1989, provided a provocative analysis of "powerful images," both religious and erotic across an extensive chronological span – but insisted in its very first sentence that, "this book is not about the history of art."[13] The following year, Hans Belting's study, *Bild und Kult*, posited a rupture in which the icon "lost power" at the Reformation, when a picture was seen as unacceptably imprecise compared to the literal and therefore authentic word of God. "Into [the image's] place steps *art*," writes Belting, with its concomitant emphasis on aesthetic experience. Though Belting acknowledged that "there is no such thing as a historical caesura" and suggested that in Catholic Italy at least a "double view of the image" as both "receptacles of the holy" and "expressions of art" could coexist even after the Reformation, the 1994 English translation of his book was subtitled, "a history of the image before the era of art."[14]

In the past decade, art historians have taken up the challenge to nuance the overstated concept of a clean break between sacred images and art in the early modern period. Some have, for instance, worked on clarifying how the role of the altarpiece changed in the aftermath of Luther to respond to new religious conditions both north and south of the Alps[15] and re-examined early modern iconoclasm and its aftermath.[16] Other scholars have shifted focus to explore the suggestion Belting had left hanging: that in early modern Italy a painting or sculpture could be both a work of art and an object meant for religious devotion.

Rather than positing a replacement of one type of thing for the other, one could study, "the sacred image in the age of art," as Marcia Hall put it in the title of her 2010 study. Thus, my book joins the growing literature on sacred images in early modern Italy by Hall and others.[17] Taken together, this scholarship promises a new and subtler understanding of the double work of the sacred image, which in Hall's words, "serves two masters, art and the Church."[18]

In my focus on a sacred, printed, work of art, I am answering Paul Hills's call to question art history's seemingly natural categories.[19] The Madonna of the Fire exceeds any single paradigm of art or icon or print; this study therefore embraces the intersections between them. Yet Forlì's Madonna of the Fire is a signal object for scholarly analysis, not only because it simultaneously calls into consideration all three categories of art, icon, and print, but also because it compels us to interrogate what art history can and in some cases should do. For far more than a master painting, for example, the Madonna of the Fire is recalcitrant in responding to the traditional approaches of art history. In a discipline that has centuries-deep roots in the study of the creator, the great artist's biography, this work's maker is now unknown and unnamed even in its earliest surviving descriptions. Italian Renaissance art history has its long favored locales, but this study is focused not on Florence, Rome, or Venice, nor even the cultured courts of Urbino or Mantua, but rather a small city southeast of Bologna. Forlì swung between Ghibelline commune to papal state, spending most of the three centuries between the building of the school in which the print first hung to the completion of the chapel in which it remains enshrined today in a state of war. Historian Eric Cochrane called Forlì the "most misgoverned" of the chronically misgoverned cities of the Romagna.[20] This bloody and chaotic history meant that Forlì could not provide the political and social stability enjoyed by Florence, for example, which renders distinguished artmaking possible: indeed its most famous native artist, Melozzo da Forlì, spent most of his career outside his home town.

Finally, two already mentioned characteristics of the Madonna of the Fire would seem to position it on the margins of art historical inquiry. First, the Madonna of the Fire is not a painting but a print. Art theory and practice long excluded printmakers from the official academies of art and placed history painting at the top of a still powerful hierarchy of media;[21] in parallel, art history has relegated the study of printed things into what sometimes remains a highly specialized and insular subspecialty. Even within traditional print connoisseurship, which prizes pristine early impressions of engravings or etchings, it is a soiled, hand-colored woodcut with a damaged bottom edge. Second, the Madonna of the Fire was never really a quintessential museum piece, but rather first an object of pious attention, and then the center of a Christian local cult. Mayor's hyperbole was part of a rhetorical maneuver working against this grain in order to embed his discussion of the Madonna of the Fire and its ecclesiastical environment into a conventional art historical discourse based on

the twentieth-century museum and its practices. But the Chapel of the Madonna of the Fire is not a print room, nor any part of the institution of the modern museum. Nor is the print on museological display there: rather, it remains covered in its eighteenth-century tabernacle, only visible for feast days, such as the Novena dedicated to the Madonna of the Fire in late January and early February each year.

Art historians have generally followed Mayor's impulse, framing the analysis of the Madonna of the Fire with traditional questions. Most persistently, we have asked when it was made: given the date of the fire of February 4, 1428, this woodcut figures prominently in discussions about the earliest single-sheet woodcuts in Europe, often in blatantly nationalistic terms. Lionello Venturi, for example, first published the woodcut in 1903 in the hope that "the belief that Italian woodcuts arose from German ones . . . be destroyed from now on."[22] Art historians have also worked to attribute this anonymous woodcut to a named master. Sergio Fabbri recently suggested that the fifteenth-century Bolognese painter, Michele di Matteo, is responsible for the Madonna of the Fire, pointing to the "astonishing" similarities between the eyes, nose, mouth, and hair of the printed figure of Mary and the features of the same figure in one of his paintings, now in the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Ferrara.[23] Finally, art historians have highlighted the Madonna of the Fire as a formidable example of an early print, one that, as David Areford argued, can "clearly demonstrate the multiple functions of the early printed image."[24]

In this study, I seek to redirect our attention to this print, to turn away from the issue of when and by whom it was made, and from analyses defined by print history. Rather, this book expands the study of the Madonna of the Fire beyond these questions and categories to consider instead a cascade of formative moments in its history, moments in which it was defined, redefined, or reinforced in terms of how it can be understood by past and present communities of faith and of learning.[25] For as an object operating at the node connecting print, art, and icon, the Madonna of the Fire has many origins, many potent moments of making and remaking: when ink was impressed onto paper at a date we now cannot precisely ascertain; when that sheet was recognized by the Forlivesi as miraculous in the aftermath of the schoolroom fire in 1428; when it was taken into Forlì's cathedral and enshrined in various tabernacles and chapels there; when it was studied by scholars, such as Venturi and Mayor; when it or one of its copies was – and is – carried around the city in procession.

One consequence of attending to this continuing cascade is a radical expansion of the chronological span considered: this book discusses, on the one hand, the 1428 fire that established the cult of the Madonna of the Fire and, on the other, a chapel rebuilt and inaugurated in 2009. Yet though similarly expansive temporally, the approach I adopt in this study is not the classic French Annales school emphasis on *longue durée*. After all, a study dedicated to the social life of a singular thing could well be considered a microhistory, and the 1428 fire cannot

be considered anything other than an "explosive . . . event" that literally could "blind the eye with clouds of smoke," to use several of the key phrases Fernand Braudel employed to describe what did not concern the *longue durée*.[26] Nor does this book take on the quantitative focus and emphasis on regularity that characterize many *longue durée* studies. Indeed, if the reader at times feels confronted with the opinions and artifacts from many centuries, piled up like the wreckage at the feet of Walter Benjamin's powerless angel of history, it is because in this book, we – like Benjamin's angel – do look backwards toward the past, at many responses to the Madonna of the Fire cascading across more than half a millennium.[27] If in some senses, the Madonna of the Fire is thus similar to what George Kubler termed "prime objects,"[28] we are aided by figures I call "prime viewers," *Ruckenfiguren* like ourselves who through their writing and their actions articulate those many formative moments for us. A. Hyatt Mayor and Napoleon Bonaparte, the alpha and omega of this introduction are the prime viewers closest to our own time; Giuliano Bezzi and Bartolomeo Ricceputi, in the seventeenth century, and Giovanni di Mastro Pedrino in the fifteenth, who return throughout my book, are more remote to us.

Beyond exploring this centuries-long cascade of origins, this book embeds the Madonna of the Fire not within any closed category of similar objects but within a rich miscellany of things and places. This study thus embraces, for example, fifteenth-century baking tongs used to make Eucharistic wafers; medieval and early modern techniques of firefighting; civic processions and printed pictures of them; and a twenty-first-century roadside chapel. The diverse array of things and places brought together in this book is organized into three sections, beginning tightly focused on the material object that is the Madonna of the Fire itself in the first part, "Thing" (a title inspired by Bill Brown's critical theory)[29] and then zooms out into progressively larger fields of analysis. The book's second part, "Emplacement," draws on the work of philosopher Edward Casey and human geographer Yi Fu Tuan in order to examine both the burning house and the cathedral chapel, the architecture destroyed or raised around the Madonna of the Fire.[30] In attending as well to both the liturgical furnishings and devotional rituals that frame that icon, this central part of the book explores both the narrative of the miracle depicted in a lunette painted by Giovanni di Maestro Pedrino and that panel's material status as part of the first altarpiece for the Madonna of the Fire. "Mobilities," the third and final part of the book, uses ideas developed by sociologist John Urry to consider the icon as it is moved through the cityscape in kinetic rituals and as it inspires or provokes the spatial practices of both citizens and foreigners.[31] At the heart of this part of my book is a consideration of Giuliano Bezzi's festive volume, *The Triumphal Fire*, printed in Forlì in 1637.

The book's first part, "Thing," comprises two chapters that consider the Madonna of the Fire, that "first famous print," as a devotional image of Mary, a household object, and then as an imprint, like the seal from a ruler's ring or a

contact relic pressed to a saint's remains, an indexical trace of an authoritative but remote matrix. The third chapter opens the book's next part, "Emplacement," by situating the terrible blaze of February 4, 1428, which the woodcut miraculously survived, within the various associations of fire held by Western Europeans from the fifteenth through the early eighteenth centuries, roughly from the building of Lombardino di Ripetrosa's schoolhouse to the completion of the decoration of the chapel dedicated to the Madonna of the Fire. The fourth chapter considers the issue of household use and display, and the fifth chapter, which grapples with enshrinement, the act of putting an object that had not originally been intended for any specific site – the characteristic of print that Hans Körner called *ortlos* – into a physical and institutional framework that defined and enhanced its sacrality.[32] The last three chapters make up the third part of the book, "Mobilities." This final part opens with Chapter 6, a consideration of the moving icon, carried through the streets and open spaces of the city. Chapter 7 continues with an analysis of the roles of printed books in interpreting the 1636 procession and also the permanent memorial architecture built to commemmorate that procession. The last chapter attends to the power of the Madonna of the Fire in and beyond the city limits of Forlì, both by attracting devotees from neighboring territories and by inspiring Marian devotion beyond the city walls. Each of these three sections is governed by a single object: the Madonna of the Fire itself is the focus of the opening pair of chapters that comprise "Thing"; Giovanni di Mastro Pedrino's lunette painting of the February 4, 1428, fire drives the central section, "Emplacement"; and Giuliano Bezzi's printed festival book, *The Triumphal Fire*, the official account of the 1636 procession moving the icon into its new chapel, is the epitome of the concluding chapters on "Mobilities."

The outward zoom of these chapters thus begins with a close analysis of the Madonna of the Fire as a printed piece of paper and then expands to analyze progressively larger physical and ideological sites associated with it: shrine and chapel, church and city, local region and Papal State. In other words, my first and central concern is the Madonna of the Fire, a thing of, as Michael Baxandall put it, "intentional visual interest," consciously made with a pictorial organization that invites and sustains prolonged looking.[33] But I also allow my art historical attention to move beyond that material object, where it resolutely begins, toward the less immediate consequences of that visibility: from the architecture razed or raised around it, to the social and ritual practices it inspires or provokes, and the spatial organization of the city and the polities beyond its walls.

In calling the Madonna of the Fire a "thing," I follow Bill Brown in using a term that "really names less an object than a particular subject-object relationship."[34] The Madonna of the Fire galvanized in its earliest viewers a sense of themselves as citizens of Forlì, a particular group of people in and of a particular place, even as their collective recognition of the woodcut as miraculous elevated it to a cult icon, the focus of organized devotional activity. One of the main

contributions of this book is a case study in civic religion based on analysis of this reciprocal relationship between this print and the people it interpellated into a civic and religious community, this "particular subject-object relationship."[35] Its triple status as art, icon, and print is richly inscribed in the life of the city in which it was, and is, venerated.

This book, then, is my experiment in art writing, though unlike T. J. Clark's recent ruminations on two paintings by Poussin,[36] it chooses as its focus a far more intractable object and the local community it brings together. As a result of this challenging choice, I am compelled to grapple with the issues of what the proper task of art history is, and how to do it. This book thus forms my response that an undated, anonymous, single-sheet woodcut/cult icon is a legitimate target for serious art historical inquiry, as are the places, practices, and community it calls forth. In other words, just as the reading habits of a Fruilian miller tried and executed in 1599 as a heretic can illuminate the intertwining of oral traditions, printed books, and the Catholic Church, so can the Madonna of the Fire throw light on the intersections between art, cult, and icon in early modern Europe as well as the practice of art history in the twenty-first century.[37]

Before turning to the print itself, I would like to close my introduction with an anecdote about Napoleon's response to the Madonna of the Fire of Forlì, which mirrors that of A. Hyatt Mayor with which I began. In March 1796, a young and relatively untested Napoleon was appointed commander of the French army in Italy. Charged with the minor task of diverting the Austrian army from the Rhine front, Napoleon instead made his name as a formidable military leader by defeating both the Piedmontese and the Austrians in northwestern Italy before invading the Papal States in June 1796. His victories there led to the Peace of Bologna, signed June 23, 1796, in which the Pope consented to Napoleon's occupation of Bologna and Ferrara, agreed to give over one hundred art works and fifty manuscripts from the Vatican, and promised to pay a large indemnity. As part of this payment, the seventeenth-century gilt silver candelabra designed by Giovanni Giardini, which had decorated the altar of the Madonna of the Fire in the cathedral of Forlì, were melted down and sent to France.[38] Forlì itself fell to the French in late January 1797 as part of the second wave of attacks on the Papal States. But Napoleon chose not to enter the city until February 4, 1797, the feast day of the Madonna of the Fire.

Napoleon repeatedly displayed not only brilliant military tactics during his Italian campaign but also supremely strategic cultural ones. Fifteen days after entering Forlì, the Peace of Tolentino was negotiated and signed by the Pope's delegates, increasing the Pope's indemnity as well as pressing for the delivery of the works of art and manuscripts already promised in the Bologna armistice. When these works as well as artistic treasures from Venice and Florence arrived in France in July 1798, triumphal processions based on ancient Roman models were staged in Paris.[39] As architectural historian Terry Kirk points out, these public events in Paris had a profound effect on Italian morale: "being for the

first time on the bitter end of such a triumphal procession sharpened a consciousness of the fragility of their cultural heritage."[40] The following year, Napoleon would hold a Festa della Federazione in Rome, taking over no less resonant a place than Piazza San Pietro as the site where "Roman Consuls" ritually pledged their union as a French *départmente*, "amalgamating," to use the official term, with French rule.[41]

In choosing the feast day of the Madonna of the Fire for his entrance into Forlì in 1797, Napoleon co-opted much of that cult icon's aura for himself and France. Instead of the usual civic and religious rituals that regularly took place on February 4 each year, Napoleon marched into the city escorted by a thousand mounted soldiers, instituted his national guard, suppressed various monasteries in the city, and constituted a central administration of the region of Emilia dependent on the Cispadan republic.[42] He gathered together Forlì's elite, including its bishop who had fled to Castrocaro, exhorting them to continue their support of the local population under French rule, and concluding, "I hope you will not oblige me to use force."[43]

But Napoleon had already used soft force in displacing the Madonna of the Fire's feast day with his entrance into the city. He of course was not the first to use this type of strategy: in 1467, Charles the Bold entered Ghent as its duke on June 28, the day of the procession of the relics of Saint Lieven, Ghent's most important local saint. As Peter Arnade points out, choosing that date for the ducal entry was "a special assertion of ducal rulership, a blunt yet magnificent statement that . . . lordly power . . . rested on a basic authority so great that it could displace at will the city's religious calendar and co-opt the sacred power of Saint Lieven."[44] Centuries earlier in Roman Greece, the removal of a conquered city's cult icons was regularly used as, in Susan Alcock's words, "acts of symbolic violence [which] worked effectively to undermine local loyalties, to shatter established relationships of authority and, above all, to weaken any pretense of independence."[45]

If Napoleon pointedly did not remove or desecrate the Madonna of the Fire, his restraint only demonstrates how he understood it as a print and an icon, rather than a printed work of art meant for the modern museum, as A. Hyatt Mayor chose to do. The sculptures, paintings, and drawings gathered during the Italian campaign were meant for the Musée Napoléon in the Louvre. Many of the Renaissance pieces Napoleon took to Paris were altarpieces, cult statues, or relics removed from Italian churches; as Cathleen Hoeniger points out, "once in Paris, [they] . . . acquired a new and dual status, as trophies of war and museum objects."[46] Prints had no place in the Musée Napoléon, so the Madonna of the Fire was not taken. At Forlì, then, Napoleon balanced the symbolic violence in the timing of his entry with his merciful treatment of this local cult icon. In doing so, he displayed his understanding of the range of local practices associated with the Madonna of the Fire, from the rituals he negated to the pious custody of the material object he permitted to continue. It is this full range, this potent cascade and its standing in the history of art, that I explore in this book.

PART ONE

THING

CHAPTER ONE

ICONOGRAPHY: MADONNA AND CHILD

On the scorching cloud of vivid flame,
As a queen on a throne of glory,
By a beaming sign of new victory,
You reign, Mary, over this city.
Traditional hymn to Forlì's
Madonna of the Fire[47]

Sometime in early 1636, Giuliano Bezzi was struck by a terrible fever. Born in the Northern Italian city of Forlì in 1592, Bezzi was a learned man and gifted writer who was serving as secretary to the city's magistrates when his life was threatened by this grave illness. He and his wife, Chiara Fachinei, surely addressed prayers for his return to good health to the local manifestation of the Virgin Mary, Forlì's Madonna of the Fire (Plate I). For in Bezzi's lifetime, as in ours, the people of Forlì called upon the Madonna of the Fire as their special spiritual advocate not only for communal catastrophes such as war and famine, but also in times of personal distress including illness, injury, or accident. In the case of Bezzi's potentially fatal illness, their prayers were answered: as Bezzi himself wrote soon thereafter, the Madonna of the Fire "pull[ed] me from my sickbed to the disbelief of the doctors, . . . [and] made me overcome a mortal fever."[48]

Giuliano Bezzi published those words in 1637, in one of the many Forlivese texts in praise of the Madonna of the Fire. For more than half a millennium now, natives of Forlì have written to celebrate the Madonna of the Fire, from the prosaic fifteenth-century chronicle entry of Giovanni di Mastro Pedrino to the soaring verses of the tradition hymn (in the Epigraph) that liken the

Madonna's "vivid flame" to a regal "throne of glory." Yet despite the opening personal reference to his recovery from fever, Bezzi's text is perhaps the most important piece of public writing about the Madonna of the Fire. For his book, *The Triumphal Fire*, was commissioned by the Forlivese magistrates as the official account of a communal ritual act: the civic procession that brought the Madonna of the Fire to its newly completed chapel in Forlì's cathedral on October 20, 1636.

With a typical rhetorical flourish, the mid-twentieth-century print curator A. Hyatt Mayor called Bezzi's book, "the earliest monograph on a printed picture";[49] now, well into the second decade of the twenty-first century, I look upon Bezzi's book not only as a precious early source about the Madonna of the Fire but also, like the Marian image it describes, as a printed thing itself. As such, *The Triumphal Fire* shaped and showcased acts of personal as well as civic piety on the part of its makers and its readers, and the story of the book's production and reception – from its commission and its illustration to its presentation and influence – shall be one strand of my own narrative (highlighted in Chapter 7). At the same time, throughout my book I draw on other texts and pictures in various media to consider the Madonna of the Fire not only as "a printed picture," as Mayor is surely correct in calling it, but also as the miracle-working icon of a Marian cult established in 1428 and still flourishing today.

"Icon" is a particularly rich term. Derived from the Greek verb *eoika*, "to be like,"[50] the term has been widely used in diverse disciplines including semiotics, media theory, computer programming, and theology to indicate a likeness of various types "understood as a medium for an outlying entity."[51] For many art historians, the Byzantine icon is preeminent, not in the least because the Orthodox Christians of the Byzantine Empire who made and revered these holy images also developed a robust image theory that was shaped and deeply scrutinized through eighth- and early-ninth-century periods of iconoclasm.[52] Ninth-century iconophile Theodore the Studite wrote that, "he who revers [a Byzantine icon] surely revers the person whom the image shows, not the substance of the image . . . since, by virtue of imitation, the image and the model are one."[53] As Pavel Florensky wrote a millennium later, the successful Orthodox icon was "always becoming for [the believer] an image of a heavenly vision" that is otherwise beyond human comprehension.[54] The Byzantine icon thus partakes of its model's sacrality, and devotional practices directed toward such an icon reach the holy figure depicted. Many Byzantine icons showing the Virgin Mary began to be imported to and imitated in the Italian peninsula in great numbers during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.[55]

Although I will argue that the Madonna of the Fire alludes to compositional and functional conventions rooted in Byzantium, when I call the Madonna of the Fire an icon, I am not saying it is a Byzantine icon. Rather, my interest lies in

the Madonna of the Fire as an image through which the Virgin Mary was venerated, an understanding voiced through many centuries, not only as we have already seen by Theodore the Studite (759–826 CE), but also by Basil the Great (330–79 CE), John of Damascus (676–749 CE, who quotes Basil), and the Council of Trent (1545–63).[56] Bartolommeo Ricceputi, the late-seventeenth-century chaplain of Forlì's cathedral, acknowledges this same type of connection between image and prototype by addressing one of his prayers to the "Most Powerful Virgin who here wants to be called by the title of Madonna of the Fire."[57] Furthermore, I am especially interested in the veneration of the Madonna of the Fire as a collective experience in which a prescribed program is undertaken according to a prescribed schedule by a group of individuals, a set of practices that I, following Hans Belting, identify as a cult.[58] The Madonna of the Fire is a Marian icon in the sense that it is a likeness of the Virgin Mary that has been recognized by its community as having special, indeed miracle-working, powers; that recognition is marked by organized devotional practices including prayer and procession by the members of its cult. Even more than Belting though, my emphasis is on the reciprocally constitutive relationship between the Madonna of the Fire as miracle-working image and the pious viewers it interpellates: on the one hand the Madonna of the Fire calls up around itself a community of devotees who see it as their source of divine intercession, and on the other is itself constituted as their icon by their recognition and veneration. As Robert Maniura wrote, "The saint as an active component of religious life emerges from ritual, because the saint is constituted by it."[59] Those individuals gathered together in these rituals are likewise thus constituted as a devotional community.

As the focus of an organized cult, the potency of the Madonna of the Fire depends not only on its visual features but also on how it is framed materially, ritually, and institutionally. In most instances, the icon itself is not even available for direct visual inspection: for example, Bezzi could not have seen the Madonna of the Fire as he lay feverishly at home, for it was then enshrined in its provisional place in the cathedral. Yet (as we shall see in Chapter 4) there can be no doubt that a copy of the Madonna of the Fire – perhaps but not necessarily printed – would have hung in his house, maybe even in the very room in which he lay ill, and the ubiquity of its multiplied image is one reason the Madonna of the Fire, as the traditional hymn says, "reign[s] over this city" of Forlì.[60] This icon's ritual use and its multiplication into copies that were widely dispersed in and beyond Forlì are considered in the final part of this book, while the central section focuses on the cataclysmic event that elevated this picture to the status of miracle-working icon – its survival of the fire that destroyed the building which housed it on February 4, 1428 – and the architectural and micro-architectural aftermath of that survival.

In this opening section, I set up these upcoming discussions of recognition, enshrinement, ritual, and multiplication by attending closely first to the visual

and material aspects of the Madonna of the Fire. This initial chapter thus has two tasks: to describe and categorize carefully the subject matter of the Madonna of the Fire, as well as its relationships to other images and objects – what art historians have long called "iconography" – and, also to see how the particular arrangement and poses of the depicted figures were interpreted by Giuliano Bezzi in what we, modifying Erwin Panofsky's classic formulation, can call a retrospective iconology.[61] Panofsky defined iconology as "iconography in a deeper sense" that reveals a work's "intrinsic meaning" for the culture that produced it. Bezzi looked back at a picture made some two centuries before he wrote and ascribed to it meanings resonant for its longstanding devotional community of which he is our most articulate representative.[62]

Bezzi knew the picture's main iconographic features, and he interpreted them in terms of the miraculous powers he attributed to it:

> There depicted was the Most Blessed Virgin (as She still is there) with her Holy Child at her neck, surrounded by some other saints' figures, who seemed like those who watched over the body of King Solomon; the Sun and the Moon shine on either side of the Sacred Image's head, luminous omens of that power that that sacred sheet [*Carta*] had to have by virtue of the Virgin, like the moon over water, and like the sun over clear weather.[63]

Bezzi correctly indicates the icon's general pictorial organization, with the Madonna and Child at center, surrounded by other holy figures, and he explicitly links the prominently placed sun and the moon to its thaumaturgic power to provide sun or rain as needed by its devotees.

"SURROUNDED BY SOME OTHER SAINTS' FIGURES"

Bezzi's mention of King Solomon references the rarely depicted motif of Solomon at repose from the Song of Songs:

> Behold threescore valiant ones of the most valiant of Israel surrounded the bed of Solomon!
>
> All holding swords, and most expert in war: every man's sword upon his thigh, because of fears in the night.[64]

It seems unlikely that Bezzi would have seen a visual depiction of these verses from the Song of Songs, for the scene of Solomon in bed surrounded by his guard appears in only a handful of visual examples between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries. Yet, given a medieval reading of the passage that understood Solomon in his bed as a parallel to Christ in his mother's womb, Bezzi's allusion to the verse is appropriately Marian in reference.[65]

The Solomonic reference in Bezzi's description of the Madonna of the Fire is also apt in capturing the formal sense of a crowd of protective figures

gathered around a regal personage, as the picture's surface is indeed visually divided into interlocking compartments that bring together many holy figures and scenes (Plate I). At the center, Mary holds Jesus in her lap, a regal crown on her haloed head and a peach-toned mantle covered with white-petaled flowers over her shoulder. These two figures are large in scale, taking up fully half the picture's height; they appear at the heart of the image, framed by a tall arch. A much smaller scaled scene of the Crucifixion fills the rounded top of the arch above their heads: John the Evangelist and Christ's mother stand on either side of the cross, while Mary Magdalene kneels at its foot, her gaze raised toward the crucified Christ. These witnesses at the crucifixion are framed by two small trees, their foliage colored deep green, springing from a rocky landscape; that outcropping descends to a rippling ledge interrupted by the haloed head of the large, central image of Mary. Figures of the Annunciation completely fill the spandrel above the arch: at left, Gabriele kneels, offering a lily heavily painted green; opposite him, Mary sits at her lectern, her head raised almost to touch the paper's edge as she receives the angel's greeting. Four pairs of small saints flank the large central Madonna and Child in two registers, each couple separated from the central arched field by a twisted colonnette. Some of these saints are identifiable, but the absence of recognizable local patron saints, for instance, Marcolino da Forlì,[66] makes it impossible to suggest a specifically Forlivese manufacture or intended market. Instead we see saints who would appeal to all fifteenth-century Christians: Paul holding a sword and Francis with book and cross at the upper left; in the register below him Christopher carries the Christ Child over blue waves and Anthony Abbot holds his tau staff; at the lower right, we see John the Baptist and red-robed Jerome with a rampant lion; above them, Lawrence, clad in yellow, holds his grill with both hands. At the bottom of the woodcut there is a ruined line of saints which were originally slightly larger in scale than those at the sides: in the surviving isocephalic line of row of heads, we can recognize Saint Peter with his keys, a female martyr with a palm, and, at the center, just the crown and halo of what may have been another image of Mary.[67]

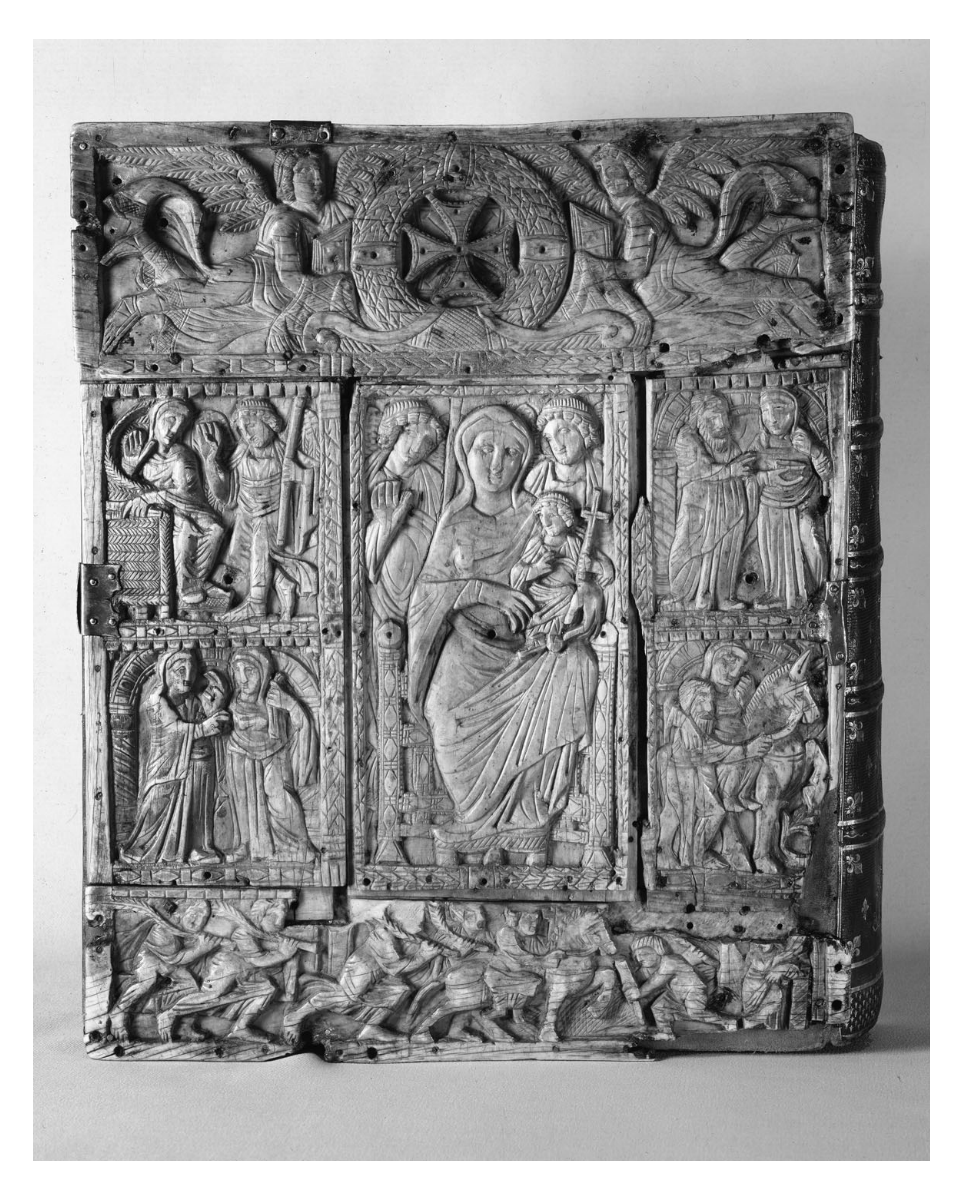
Thus, the picture known as the Madonna of the Fire is in many ways contradictory. It is not a simple image of a single saint, as many early devotional woodcuts were,[68] but rather it combines many images of holy figures with sacred narratives from Mary's life and Christ's Passion. At almost twenty inches high and sixteen inches wide, it is small and light enough to be held in the hand, yet still large enough to be seen by several viewers simultaneously. It is mainly comprised of black printed lines, but is also colored by hand, with the peach tone and white petals on the central Madonna's mantel added with special care. This Mary literally looms large, dominating the picture and taking pride of place while the smaller subsidiary saints and scenes are pushed to the margins.



1. Mosaic of the Apse of Cathedral of S. Maria Assunta, Torcello, Italy. Byzantine. Photo: Scala / Art Resource, NY

The structural richness and decorative vocabulary of the image taken as a whole evoke other types of objects. The little x's and dots that fill the horizontal bands repeatedly dividing the picture bring to mind both the tooled punchwork in the gold backgrounds of devotional panels and also the mosaic-patterned strips separating scenes in church fresco cycles. The colonnettes reinforce the impression of a church interior, as does the Annunciation in the spandrel, which recalls, for instance the apse wall of Giotto's Scrovegni Chapel in Padua with its similarly placed figures of Gabriel and Virgin Annunciate, or Santa Maria Assunta, Torcello, in which the Annunciation scene in the spandrels frames the Madonna and Child (albeit a standing rather than half-length one) over a row of smaller isocephalic apostles below in the apse itself (Fig. 1).

The Madonna of the Fire also has parallels to much smaller objects: for example, its partitioning of the pictorial space is similar to the five-piece assemblages of Byzantine ivory plaques that were used in Europe between the tenth and fifteenth centuries to decorate the covers of Latin manuscripts. The ivory cover of the Carolingian gospel book known as the Saint Lupicin diptych, for instance, shows a large enthroned Madonna and Child in a central panel, surrounded by smaller scenes, mostly from Mary's life (Fig. 2).[69] Like the Madonna of the Fire, the Saint Lupicin book cover uses a hieratic scale and places Mary and Jesus in a large central field surrounded by many smaller subsidiary spaces.



2. *Madonna and Child* and surrounding narrative scenes, cover of the Saint Lupicin Gospels. 6th century. Ivory, 36.9 cm × 30.3 cm. Ms. Lat. 9384 Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. Photo: BnF

MADONNA IN/AS THE TABERNACLE

Perhaps most of all, the Madonna of the Fire looks like a typical devotional image meant for use in a domestic setting, and it was in fact made for that very purpose.[70] Many domestic devotional pictures were paintings, and the Madonna of the Fire is comparable in scale and pictorial structure to the painted

devotional diptychs and triptychs from the fourteenth century, as well as to the fifteenth-century rectangular panel paintings with a pointed or arched top for domestic use, known in Italy as *colmi da camera*.[71] Another period term for these household devotional objects was "tabernacle," in the most generic sense of an enclosing receptacle or case.[72] The roots of this word go back to the Latin *tabernaculum* for "tent," referring to the provisional sanctuary used by the Hebrews to shelter the ark before the erection of Solomon's Temple. In the strictest Catholic usage, a tabernacle refers specifically to a receptacle for the Holy Sacrament; less stringently, as Megan Holmes has shown, the term also applies to receptacles for miraculous images and saints' relics.[73] Domestic inventories from the fifteenth century also indicate a vernacular usage of the term, repeatedly referring to images of holy figures with or in their "tabernacles" in the Renaissance house.[74] (The use of these devotional images in the home is discussed further in Chapter 4.)

A number of surviving late medieval devotional paintings, similar to the Madonna of the Fire in showing a half-length Mary with Christ in a central arched field with additional scenes or figures at the sides, demonstrates that this pictorial format was already established by the thirteenth century. A Tuscan tabernacle, now in the Princeton University Art Museum, places the Madonna and Child in an arched panel, flanked by the scenes of the Annunciation and Flagellation on the left wing and the Crucifixion on the right.[75] A Lucchese triptych attributed to Berlinghiero Berlinghieri, now in the Cleveland Museum of Art, adds flying angels to fill the spandrels above the heads of the central Madonna and Child and places the full-length figures of Saints Francis and Paul, and Saints Stephen and Lawrence on the side wings, under the scenes of the Crucifixion of Saint Andrew and Christ in a mandorla, at left and right respectively (Fig. 3).[76] Both these paintings are roughly 42 cm × 52 cm, just slightly smaller than the Madonna of the Fire.

Panels showing half-length Marian images with flanking saints and narratives grew larger and more complex in the fourteenth century: two early fourteenth-century Venetian tabernacles divide the side wings into three or four rectangular compartments each, resulting in six or eight narratives or groups of saints around the central Marian icon. They also show the figures of Gabriel and the Virgin Annunciate in the spandrel, thereby adding the narrative of the Annunciation above the head of the Madonna in the arched pictorial field below.[77] A late-fourteenth-century triptych shows the same sort of hierarchic changes of scale that we see in the Madonna of the Fire: a large half-length Madonna and Child in a central arched field; six fields on either side with smaller, here bust-length images of holy figures; and a row of even smaller saints in a row across the bottom of all three panels (Fig. 4).[78]

A late fourteenth-century triptych by Simone da Bologna is even closer to the Madonna of the Fire's size and type of pictorial organization (Fig. 5).[79] Now in the Blanton Museum, Simone's triptych with its gilded wood frame is roughly



3. Berlinghiero. *Virgin and Child with Saints*, ca. 1230s. Tempera and gold leaf on poplar panel, 42.6 cm × 51.5 cm. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of the John Huntington Art and Polytechnic Trust 1966.237.
Photo: © The Cleveland Museum of Art

the same height and just a few inches wider than the Madonna of the Fire, and also features a central bust-length image of the Madonna and Child, framed by small colonnettes. Full-length figures of Saints Peter and Paul stand enclosed in architectonic compartments defined by the gilded colonnettes of the triptych's lateral wings; above them, small figures of Gabriel and Mary, here half-length, enact the Annunciation. As in the Madonna of the Fire, above the central image of Mary and Jesus there is an image of Christ's suffering, here a Man of Sorrows showing his bleeding torso and hands while rising from a sarcophagus, the cross behind his haloed head.

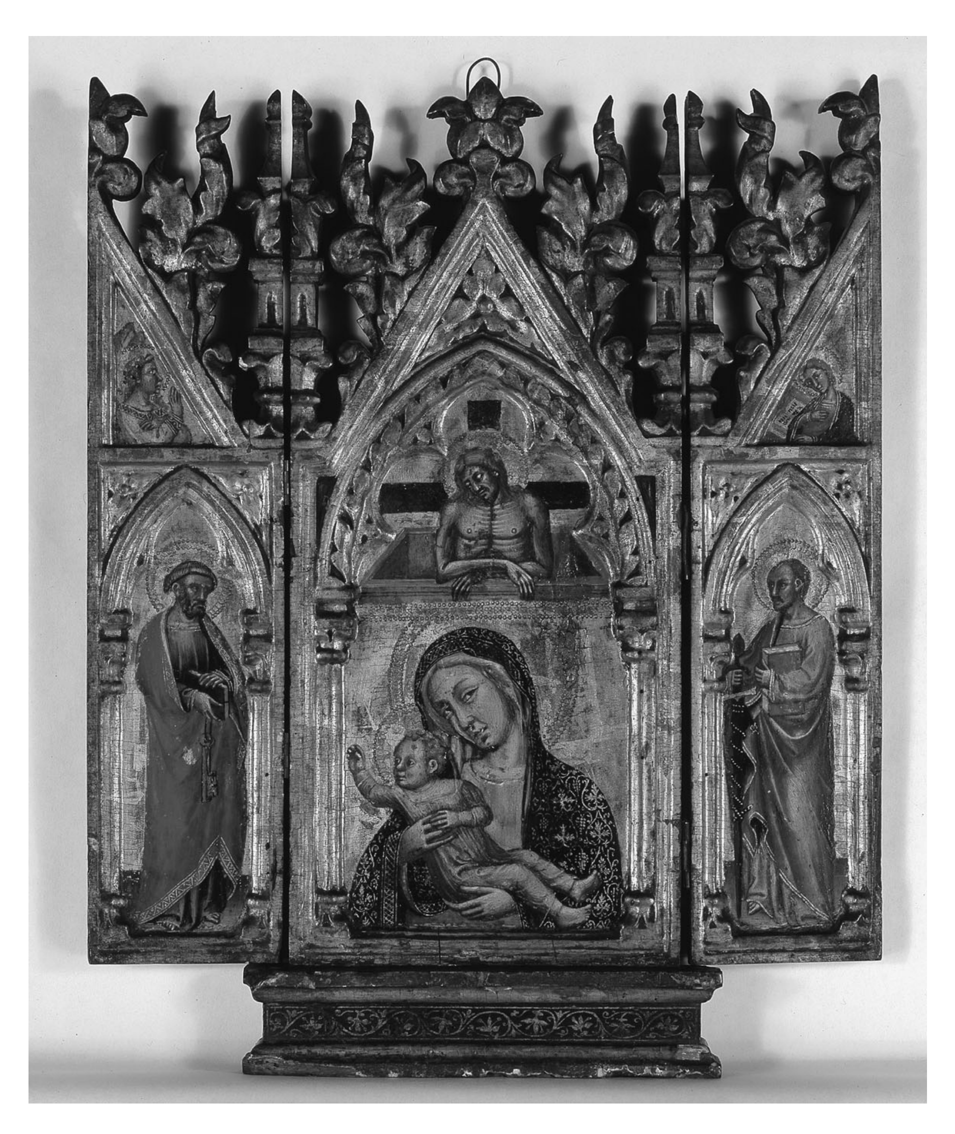
The Man of Sorrows and the Madonna and Child share the central panel of the triptych, united by the pointed arch that enframes both images, just as the round-headed arch in the Madonna of the Fire (Plate I) holds the central figures of Mary and Jesus together with the Crucifixion scene above. In both cases, this vertical stacking juxtaposes a scene of Christ's infancy with one related to his Passion; in both cases, the transition between the two is pictorially equivocal. The Blanton picture puts that transition at a line marked by the two miniature



4. *Madonna and Child, the Lamentation, and Saints*, late fourteenth century. Tempera and gold leaf on panel, 87 cm × 130 cm including wings. Museo Correr, Venice, Italy.
Photo: Cameraphoto Arte, Venice / Art Resource, NY

impost blocks at the tops of the framing colonnettes, so that the Man of Sorrows is fully enclosed within the trefoil of the pointed arch. The rose-colored sarcophagus stretches from one impost block to the other, there completely interrupting the gold ground that is otherwise continuous between the two scenes, shining behind both the large figures of the Madonna and Child as well as the small Man of Sorrows. His head tilts at the same angle as the Mary depicted below; her halo, indicated by a double arc of punched dots, intersects a similar doubled line of punchwork just below the pink edge of the sarcophagus above. Thus, the punchwork lines running between the impost blocks parallel the front lip of the sarcophagus, whose sides are painted to recede in perspective; the punchwork also repeats the dotted decorative edge defining the Madonna's halo. In this way, that double line of punched dots, like the clouds discussed by Hubert Damisch, serve as a transition between two syntactical spaces, joining as well as separating the two scenes.[80]

In the Madonna of the Fire, the zone between the Crucifixion scene and the central Madonna and Child is similarly fraught. As noted above, Golgotha, the hill upon which Christ's cross was erected, is depicted with a rippling front ledge that is interrupted by the halo of the large central Madonna. As we follow



5. Simone da Bologna, called Simone dei Crocifissi, *Triptych*, ca. 1395. Tempera and gold leaf on panel, 53.98 cm × 47.63 cm. Blanton Museum of Art, The University of Texas at Austin, The Suida-Manning Collection, 1999 (526.1999).
Photo: Rick Hall

the printed and hand-painted drops of blood from Christ's body down the picture, this halo forms the front edge of the promontory upon which the cross is set. Moving in the opposite direction from the large Madonna and Child upwards, we see that Golgotha's rippling edge does not touch the enclosing arch on either side but rather hangs between them, almost like a cloth of honor behind Mary's head. The printed intermittent dashes of Christ's falling blood seem to land as the discrete black centers of the flowers on Mary's robe. The relationship between the two scenes under the central arch is thus not neatly

separated but kept in flux, allowing viewers to meditate on prefigurations of Christ's sacrifice even in his infancy.

In both the Blanton tabernacle and the Madonna of the Fire, these scenes are crowned by the spandrel image of Mary receiving the Annunciation from Gabriel, the moment of Christ's Incarnation. In this sense, the Madonna herself is like a Eucharistic tabernacle, containing the body of Christ in her womb. For Gabriel's explanation to Mary in Luke 1:35, "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee," parallels the passage in Exodus 40:32 describing Moses's ark, "Then a cloud covered the tent of the congregation, and the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle [*tabernaculum*]." From the second century when Melitius, bishop of Sardis, described the Virgin as "tabernacle of God," the Marian tabernacle was a frequent metaphor in Eastern patristic writings. By the twelfth century, it was in widespread use in the West as well, taken up by Saint Bernard and then in the next century by Saints Francis and Bonaventura and their followers.[81] Images of the Madonna enclosed in an arching frame thus present Mary in a tabernacle but also as one: in both the triptych by Simone da Bologna and the woodcut known as the Madonna of the Fire, Mary's arms encircle her Son, holding him in toward her torso, in a gesture that recalls the description attributed to Saint Augustine and circulated in Jacopo da Voragine's widely read *Golden Legend* – Mary as "the tabernacle of Christ."[82]

THE CROWN, THE SUN, AND THE MOON

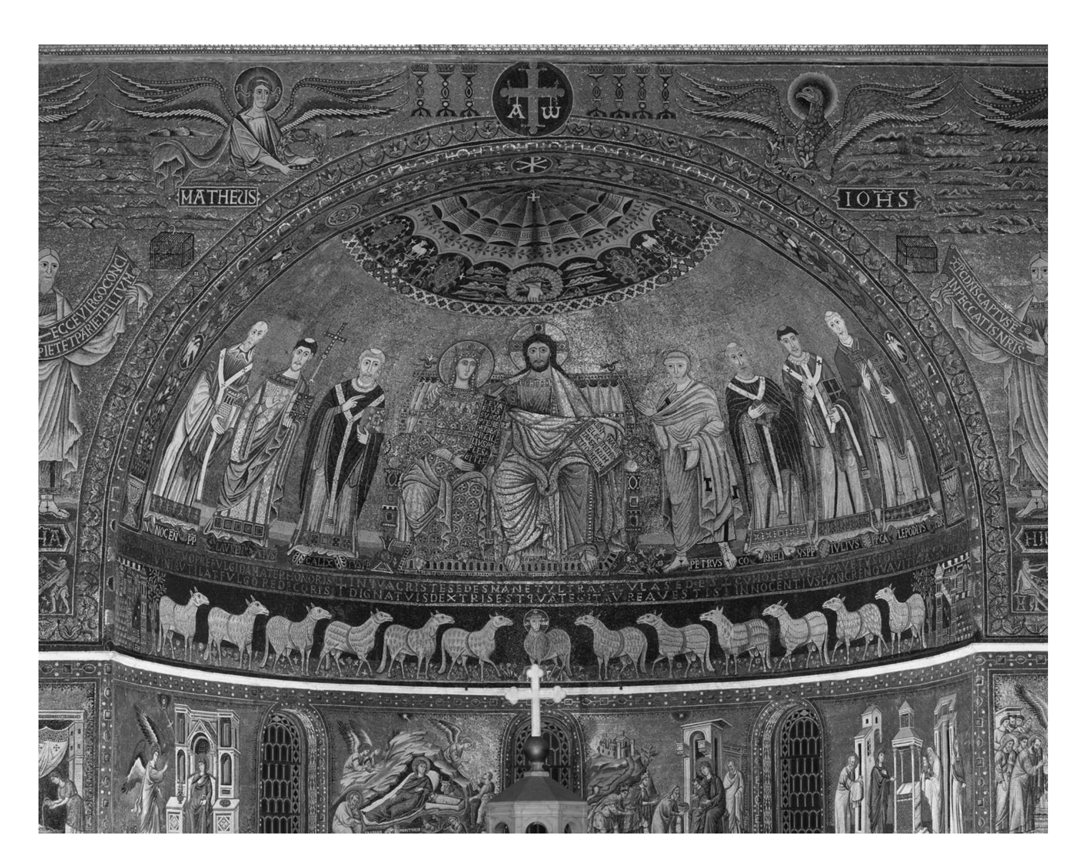
There are two major iconographical differences between the central Madonna and Child in Simone da Bologna's triptych and the pair in the Madonna of the Fire. First, in the former, Christ leans away from his mother to bless Saint Peter, who stands in the wing to the viewer's left, whereas in the latter Jesus reaches toward his mother with both hands, indeed grasping her neckline with his left. Second, the Madonna of the Fire is depicted with a crown on her head, whereas the one painted by Simone is not. Before turning to the issue of the relative poses of Christ and Mary, let us examine the crown as well as the sun and moon placed on either side of the Virgin's halo in the Madonna of the Fire.

The crown, sun, and moon are integral features of the Madonna of the Fire, invariably included in images meant to depict it, even when other features including the surrounding saints are omitted (Figs. 51, 52, 92, 93. The multiplication of the Madonna of the Fire in printed, painted, and cast images is the subject of Chapter 8). The sun and moon here do not to refer to the "woman clothed in the sun, standing on the moon" from the Book of Revelations (12:1), for the moon is not beneath Mary's feet, but it is depicted on one side of the Virgin's head with the sun on the other side.[83] This positioning of these



6. *Virgin Hodegetria*, central plaque on the Jena bookcover. Ivory, 13.0 cm × 11.8 cm. Source: Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek (ThULB), Jena

astronomical bodies is not common: I have found them only in two Byzantine ivory plaques used as book covers in medieval Europe (Fig. 6). As we have seen, Giuliano Bezzi interpreted these "luminous omens" as indications of how the Madonna of the Fire can bring much-needed precipitation in times of drought and sunshine in times of torrential rain.[84] In Crucifixion scenes, Christ's cross is frequently flanked by the sun and the moon, which serve, as Eileen Reeves puts it, "not as [astronomical] luminaries but rather as unwilling witnesses to that event."[85] In the Madonna of the Fire, the sun and moon seem almost to have descended from their usual positions above the crossbeam of Christ's cross, hovering instead below the rippling edge that separates the crucifixion scene



7. Mosaic of the apse of the Church of Santa Maria in Trastevere, Rome. 12th century. Photo: Scala / Art Resource, NY

from the central Madonna and Child. There, positioned on either side of the Madonna's head, they echo the round shape of her halo, while the irregular rays of light extending beyond their circumferences invert the way in which the points of Mary's crown are enclosed by her circular halo.

The crown here alludes to a long-lived iconographical type known as *Maria Regina* that has roots in images of a regal Madonna presented frontally, the earliest of which may appear on the sixth-century palimpsest wall of Santa Maria Antiqua in Rome.[86] Unlike images of the Madonna of Humility, which show a plainly clothed Virgin seated on the ground, the *Maria Regina* type instead depicts a majestic Virgin, splendidly garbed and often seated upon a bejeweled throne.[87] One transformative example of the *Maria Regina* type is the apse mosaic of Santa Maria in Trastevere in Rome, completed before the mid–twelfth century, in which we see Christ and Mary sharing a single throne with standing holy figures on either side (Fig. 7). The queenly Virgin in the mosaic, like the Madonna of the Fire, wears a pointed diadem encircled by a halo; the figure of Christ in the Roman church has a cross nimbus, like the young Jesus on his mother's lap in the woodcut. In Santa Maria in Trastevere, Christ holds

Mary's right shoulder tenderly; the quotation from the Song of Songs (2:6, 8:3) visible on the Madonna's scroll alludes to a similar loving posture: "His left hand is under my head, and his right hand shall embrace me."[88] Thus, while the Santa Maria in Trastevere apse mosaic is monumental in scale, its emphasis on the loving relationship between Mary and Christ lends the crown an intimate affect, more spousal – even bridal – and less imperial.[89] The play between the crown's references to familial intimacy on one hand and the celestial royalty on the other makes possible the trajectory of the Madonna of the Fire, which begins as an image for domestic devotion and becomes, as the Forlivese hymn opening this chapter says, "a queen on a throne of glory . . . reign[ing] over this city."

Like the mosaic Christ in the apse of Santa Maria in Trastevere, the Child in the Madonna of the Fire also reaches toward Mary, but instead of running his right arm behind her back to place his right hand on her shoulder, here he holds her neckline with his left hand. The motif of Jesus pulling at the Madonna's neckline is an implicit reference to a much more domestic theme in the iconographical type of the *Madonna del Latte*, or Mary nursing Jesus.[90] According to Dorothy Shorr, this playful and intimate gesture derives from an older tradition of depicting Christ in his mother's lap with his right arm extended upwards in blessing.[91] The motif of pulling at Mary's neckline begins to appear in late thirteenth-century paintings of the Madonna and Child made in Florence and Lucca, and in the mid–fourteenth century, occurs repeatedly in paintings by artists such as Bernardo Daddi and his workshop (Fig. 8, ca. 1335–40), Jacopo del Casentino (ca. 1340), and Ambrogio Lorenzetti (Fig. 9, ca. 1335–7).[92] A related gesture, with Jesus extending his left arm to hold the edge of his mother's robe, appears in a painting by Paolo Veneziano from around 1340, which also shares with the Madonna of the Fire the distinctive trefoil pointed crown on Mary's head as well as the Child's position on the left side of the picture (Fig. 10).[93] In the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, artists including Lorenzo Ghiberti and Raphael would depict Christ's playful pull at Mary's collar as a fully naturalized action (Figs. 11 and 12), though it is possible to see the interest in showing human warmth in the relationship between the divine mother and son already in the Trecento paintings. Shorr wrote that in transforming Christ's blessing gesture into one of grasping Mary's neckline, "the action of the hand has now been changed from hieratic to naturalistic."[94] Yet, as Richard Krautheimer pointed out long ago, "seemingly new and realistic motifs . . . [showing] a perhaps newly humanized attitude" may have roots in Byzantine iconography; more recently, Peter Parshall described Filippo Lippi's *Tarquinia Madonna* in terms of a Byzantine type as "a rediscovery of the human spirit embodied in the art of his predecessors."[95]

Another example is to be found in the closely pressed faces of Madonna and Child in Lorenzetti's Massa Marittima *Maestà* (Fig. 9) that



8. Workshop of Bernardo Daddi, *Madonna and Child*, 1345–49. Tempera and gold leaf on panel, 68.8 cm × 46.8 cm. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore

recall the similarly cheek-to-cheek pose in the Eleousa or Glykophilousa Madonnas in Byzantine art.

"A PRONOUNCED ARCHAICISM"

Bissera Pentcheva has described the thirteenth-century panel from the Peribleptos church in Ohrid as a prime example of another important Byzantine iconographical type, the Hodegetria:

> Both figures have one hand that speaks and another that carries an object. The speaking hand of Mary is visually juxtaposed with the speaking hand

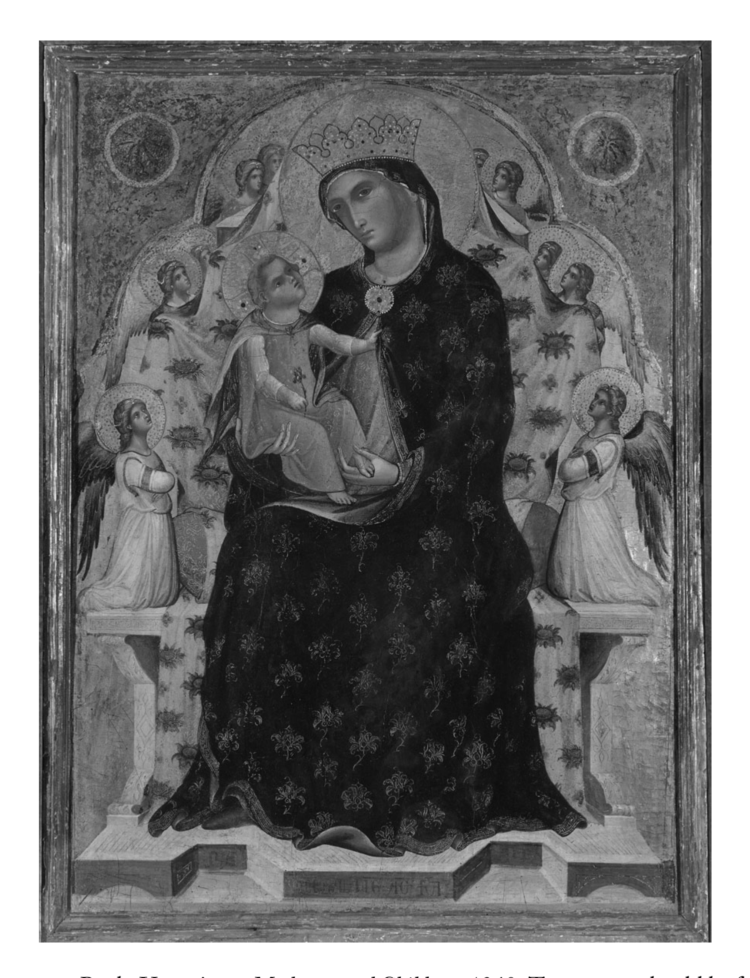


9. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *Maestà*, ca. 1335–7. Tempera and gold leaf on panel, 161 cm × 207 cm. Pinacoteca, Massa Marittima.
Photo: Scala / Art Resource, NY

> of Christ, forming the first pair of hands. The *Theometor* gestures to and implores the Child. . . . Christ answers by raising and blessing with his hand. In the second pair, the hand of each figure holds the *Logos*, and thus expresses the notion of the Incarnation. The Mother's arm carries the Word in the form of the child, while Christ holds it in the form of a text scroll.[96]

Thus, the Hodegetria type features a dialogue between paired hands, one from the Mother and one from the Child, which concludes at the right side of the panel with the hands positioned one above the other, holding either the Word or the Word Made Flesh.

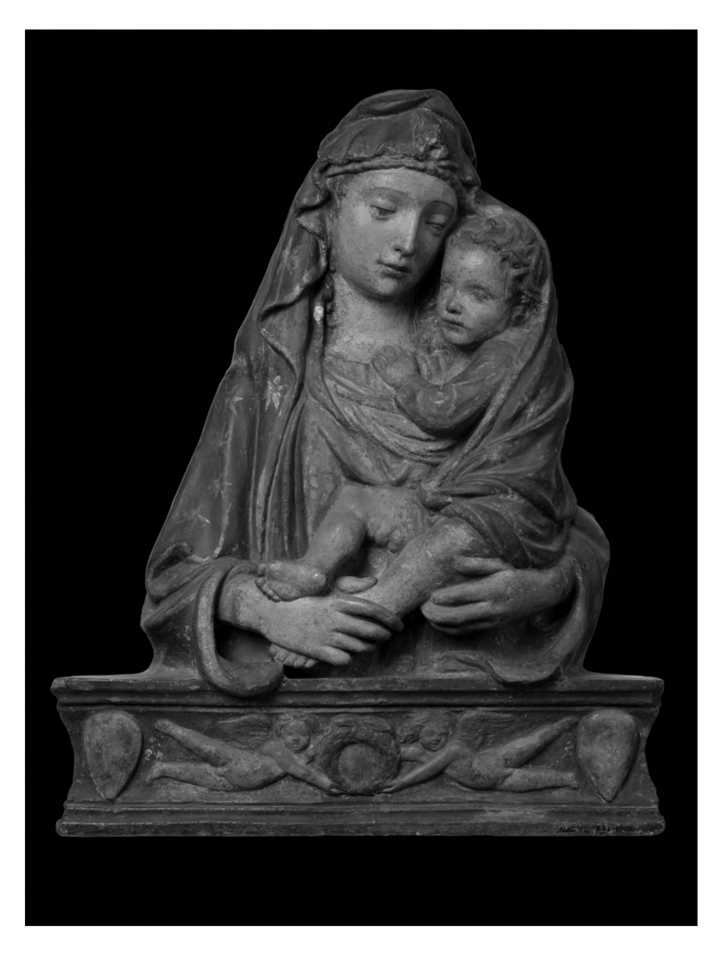
The Byzantine ivory plaque at the center of the Jena bookcover, which as we have seen contains the unusual image of a half-length Madonna and Child with a sun and moon on either side of Mary's head, modifies this schema slightly (Fig. 6). As in Pentcheva's description of the Ohrid icon, Christ holds a tightly furled scroll against his leg with his left hand immediately above the Madonna's left hand with which she supports her son. The major difference in the Jena ivory lies in the right forearms of Christ and Mary: both are lowered to a horizontal position. Though Jesus's first two fingers are raised in blessing, the



10. Paolo Veneziano, *Madonna and Child*, ca. 1340. Tempera and gold leaf on panel, 107 cm × 77 cm. A. Crespi Collection, Milan.
Photo: Scala/Art Resource, NY

extended four fingers of Mary's right hand rest on Christ's shins, parallel to the bottom edge of the picture rather than being lifted to point to Jesus. Anthony Cutler has linked this "maternal, supporting gesture" of the Hodegetria's right hand in place of a pointing one, with poses in which Mary looks out toward the viewer rather than toward her child.[97]

Another variant of the Hodegetria, such as the Madonna del Popolo (Fig. 13), shows the Christ child without the scroll.[98] This icon, housed in the eponymous church in Rome, is one of a number said to have been painted by Saint Luke, but was likely made in the late twelve or early thirteenth century.[99] The Madonna del Popolo shows Jesus makes a blessing gesture that visually places the outstretched fingers of his right hand at his mother's neckline. With his left hand, he grasps Mary's left thumb in a detail that Walter Angelelli describes as "a hint of the painter's wish to express a more intimate contact between mother



11. Workshop of Lorenzo Ghiberti, *Madonna and Child*, ca. 1425–50. Pigmented stucco relief. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London

and son."[100] Mary tilts her head toward her child and gestures toward him with the long, tapering fingers of her right hand, thumb and forefinger gently curved away from the other three fingers.

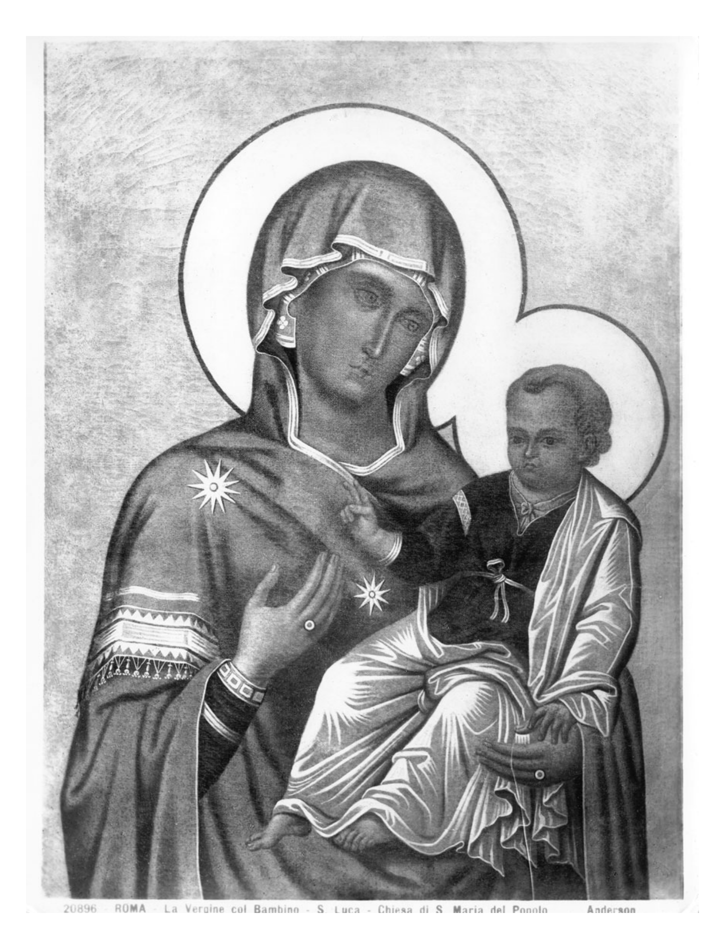
In contrast to this delicate and precise interplay of fingers in the Roman Madonna del Popolo icon, in the Madonna of the Fire (Plate I) the hands and arms of Mary and Christ are much less finely articulated: the Virgin holds Jesus close, supporting him with her right hand and reaching across the center of the picture toward him with her left. He reverses her gesture, reaching above her left hand with his right, and pulling at her neckline with his left. Mary's left hand and Christ's right are poised one above the other, but they have not resolved into a fully determined gesture: no intertwining of fingers or clasping of hands has been achieved in favor of a more ambiguous placement of limbs. Furthermore, the hands pictured in the Madonna of the Fire are simplified into almost abstract geometric forms. Mary's right hand, with which she supports



12. Raphael, *The Niccolini-Cowper Madonna*, 1508, oil on panel, Andrew W. Mellon Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC. Courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC

the Child, is shown as discrete rectanguloid shapes appearing under his hip. The Madonna's left hand and the Child's right one are depicted in blunt contours, with fingers pressed tightly together and articulated only by simple hatches within a generalized outline for each entire hand.

This pronounced simplification of forms is absent in other parts of the picture. For example, the small saints depicted on either side of the central Madonna and Child are quite exquisitely detailed, with, for instance, pointed peaks of fur depicted on John the Baptist's shirt, and curving waves of water, partially obscured by the thick strokes of blue hand coloring, that swirl around St Christopher's legs. Similarly, despite their reduced scale and ruined state, what can be seen of the saints at the bottom of the picture show more



13. Madonna del Popolo, in the church of Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome.
Photo: Alinari / Art Resource, NY

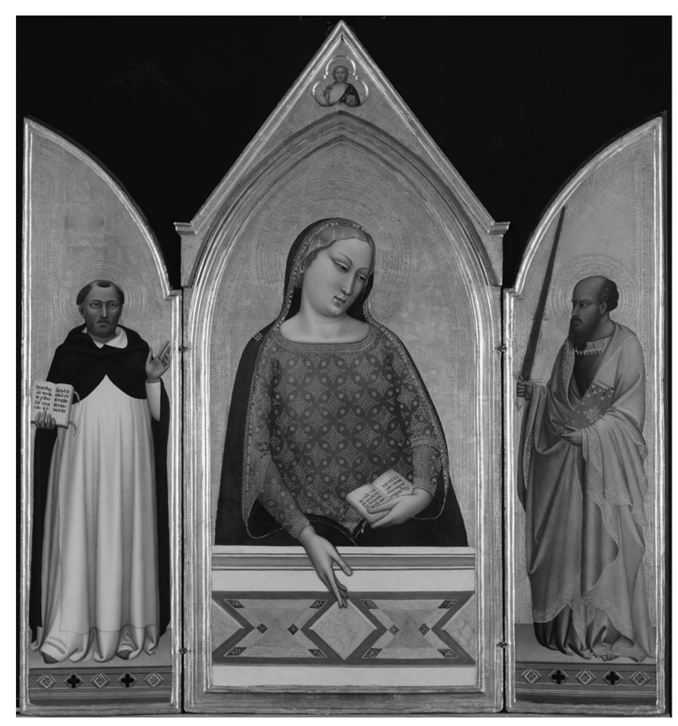
individuated facial features and more distinctly defined fingers than are to be found in the large image of the Madonna and Child at the center of the picture.

Scholars have long seen a disparity in how the central and peripheral zones of the Madonna of the Fire are represented stylistically. As early as 1903, Lionello Venturi noted "a pronounced archaism" [*uno spiccato arcaismo*] in the central figures of the Madonna and Child. He thoroughly denigrated these figures, listing their features with disgust – "the ugliest, big, almond-shaped eyes, the malformed hands with truncated fingers, the archaically waving hair, the bulky stunted head of the Child, the crude crown of the Madonna" – and contrasting them with "the best, the truest, the most fifteenth-century" subsidiary figures that surround them. Venturi's characterization of the smaller saints as *quattro-centesche* is telling, and he does admit the possibility that "the Madonna was an image fixed by tradition, imposed on the artist, who did not have the freedom to act except in the side figures of saints." However, he clearly favors a different

explanation: that the printmaker was a miniaturist capable of making typically fifteenth-century figures on a small scale but not competent to do so in the larger central image of the Madonna and Child.[101] Writing more than eight decades later, Evelina Borea also acknowledged the differences in how the central figures and the smaller ones at the margins are executed, though in less polemic terms. She offered two possible reasons: either that the cutter of the wood block based his work on designs that came from different draftsmen or that the central Madonna and Child "repeated a pre-existing image already fixed by tradition."[102]

Perhaps Venturi was exactly on target in seeing at the heart of the Madonna of the Fire an "archaic" image framed by figures that are closer in style to the moment of the print's making. Perhaps Borea was right on both her counts: that the designs for the central figures and the surrounding ones were different in fact because the former drew on a traditional image whereas the latter did not. There are in fact many precedents for seeing quotations of older images both in church decoration and domestic devotional objects. Ernst Kitzinger had suggested an "antiquarian" face based on an earlier icon for no less than the Madonna in the mosaic apse of Santa Maria in Trastevere, and Hans Belting noted that household devotional tabernacles "make a distinction between the main figures in the center, which are quoted from a preexisting type of icon, and the small figures on the wings, which act like a figural frame or comment on the image in question."[103] These central pictorial quotations of more archaic images mirror the appearance of the so-called "tabernacle-paintings" (*Bildtabernackel)* that became popular in the fifteenth century and beyond, in which a preexisting icon was physically inserted into a later painting.[104] But without the conjoining of separate objects that characterizes the tabernacle-painting, pictures that feature a visual quotation of an earlier icon must distinguish between it and its framing figures through purely pictorial means. The "pronounced archaism" at the heart of the Madonna of the Fire noted by Lionello Venturi is one such visual means through which the quotation is marked.

An incongruous gesture within the quoted image is another such means, one that may indicate not just the icon's age but also its ability to intercede or answer prayers. A triptych painted by Bernardo Daddi now in the Getty Museum quotes the Marian icon known as the Madonna di Bagnolo in a central panel, flanked by wings showing Saint Thomas Aquinas at left and Saint Paul at right (Fig. 14).[105] The Virgin Mary, larger in scale than those saints, holds a book open to the text of the Marian canticle known as the Magnificat. Dressed in a red robe richly patterned in gold and an ultramarine blue cloak, Mary reaches across the fictive marble balustrade that separates her from the picture plane with her right hand, breaking through the self-contained pictorial space she otherwise inhabits.[106] This open gesture anticipates a supplicant kneeling before the icon to ask for intercession, yet it is visually unanswered in a manner that is so disconcerting that early and later viewers felt compelled to complete





14. Bernardo Daddi, *The Virgin Mary with Saints Thomas Aquinas and Paul*, ca. 1335. Tempera and gold leaf on panel, 121.6 cm × 113 cm (with original engaged frame). The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program
14A. Detail of Fig. 14, before conservation. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles

the exchange by painting in a recipient. Another early copy of the Madonna di Bagnolo, now in the Museo del Opera del Duomo in Florence, positioned a small portrait of a donor to receive Mary's gesture.[107] In the sixteenth century, the Getty picture itself had a small recumbent figure of Jesus painted in oils below Mary's outstretched hand, some two centuries after Daddi had completed the painting (Fig. 14, detail inset).[108]

An icon's awkward composition can even indicate to its pious viewers its miraculous nature. As Megan Holmes points out, the late-fifteenth-century Tuscan Madonna dei Terremoti (Madonna of the Earthquakes) has "a very odd format that, not altogether successfully, conjoins the typology of the Madonna and Child enthroned with a relatively new Florentine iconography of the Adoration of the Christ Child." The miracle legend of that icon explains the indeed odd posture of the figures, with the swaddled Jesus balanced precariously between Mary's knees: the enthroned Madonna had been holding her Child but when an earthquake struck unexpectedly, she dropped him into her lap in order to clasp her hands in prayer. The unusual composition – however unsuccessful in artistic terms – thus signals the immediacy of Mary's intercessions.[109]



15. Madonna Bianca, in the church of San Lorenzo, Portovenere.
Photo: author

The Madonna Bianca of Portovenere is another icon that shows a seated figure of Mary with hands clasped (Fig. 15). This picture of Mary and Jesus was a relatively small and inexpensive one on parchment, already faded when a pious native of Portovenere named Luciardo nailed it to a wall in his house.[110] According to legend, on August 17, 1399, while he was at prayer before it, Luciardo saw the colors refresh themselves, and Mary's left hand, which had supported Jesus, moved to meet her right in a prayerful pose, while on the scroll in the Child's hands two verses in the local dialect appeared, praising praising the sinner who repents.[111] If we imagine what the icon must have looked like before this miraculous event, the Madonna and Child would have been in close to a Hodegetria pose: Mary's left hand supporting Jesus; the child holding a furled scroll in his left hand; the right hands of both Mother and Son raised.

The Madonna dei Terremoti and the Madonna Bianca are examples in which unorthodox, even awkward, pictorial compositions are interpreted by their

devotional communities not as the makers' incompetence but rather indications of the icons' power. With these examples in mind, it is possible to see the Madonna of the Fire with new eyes, recasting what Venturi correctly saw as the "pronounced archaism" of the central figures in the Madonna of the Fire not primarily as artistic ineptitude, but rather as an indication that an earlier icon is being quoted. Furthermore, what Venturi saw as the "malformed hands with truncated fingers" of the central Madonna and Child depicted in a visually unsatisfactory and awkward pose can be understood instead as a representation of a miraculous image full of potentiality, caught in the action of moving out of a Hodegetria-like position. Far from the product of an incompetent miniaturist botching the main image in a devotional picture, we thus have a supremely self-aware image – to use Victor Stoichita's powerful formulation – quoting an archaic miraculous Hodegetria icon.[112]

Furthermore, this quotation of the preeminent type of Marian icon, thought to be painted by Saint Luke himself (an important consideration to be treated in the next chapter),[113] is not here fixed and perfectly finished, but rather incomplete and in the process of happening before the viewer's eyes. Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood have described a fifteenth-century woodcut, now in Copenhagen, showing the Madonna in the Robe of the Wheat Ears as enclosed within "a multiplication of internal frames and a stiffening of the external frame" to "apologize" for not itself being that icon of Mary, but rather as inscriptions on related prints explicitly state, "the image [of] the image of Our Lady."[114] By contrast, the framing of the Madonna of the Fire's central core is resolutely porous: Mary's sleeve may graze the colonnette near Saint Anthony Abbot, as the Madonna in the Robe of the Wheat Ears (in Nagel and Wood's words) "is touching everything else" in her print, but the Madonna of the Fire's left arm pointedly approaches yet never reaches the colonnette near Saint John the Baptist.[115] Mary's lap may be truncated by the horizontal strip of x- and dot-decoration below, but Christ's swaddled heel barely makes a tangent with it. As we have already seen, the equivocation between a ledge supporting the crucifixion scene and a cloth of honor behind the Madonna's halo characterizes the top third of the picture.

However, we may understand the Copenhagen woodcut of the Madonna in the Robe of Wheat Ears to work, the Madonna of the Fire does not "apologize for being [a] print."[116] Rather, its printed nature underlies the one other major difference between the Madonna of the Fire and a typical Hodegetria, beyond the indeterminate pose of Mother and Son: the Hodegetria is the Lucan icon that depicts Jesus on Mary's left, that is to say, on the viewer's right side.[117] The figures in the Madonna of the Fire take on the opposite left-right orientation as those in a Hodegetrian icon, with Mary holding Christ with her right arm, so that he appears on the left side of the picture and she on the right. This mirror reversal of an expected composition is another difference between the central Madonna and Child and the subsidiary figures and scenes surrounding them.

These framing areas all conform to conventional dispositions of right and left: Gabriel kneels in the upper left corner to address the Annunciate Virgin in the upper right;[118] Mary stands at the crucified Christ's right and John the Evangelist to his left; Saint Paul holds his sword with his right hand and John the Baptist's banderole reads, "ECCE AGNVS," with the letters in the correct orientation. Indeed, if we accept Venturi's identification of the grossly damaged central figure in the bottom row as the Madonna herself – an identification that the crown and what remains of the hair would support – then the picture presents two images of Mary, one stacked vertically above the other, with the central Marian figure facing left and the marginal Marian figure facing right. To further explore the import of this mirroring reversal at the picture's heart, we turn next to the facture of the Madonna of the Fire in the medium of print.

CHAPTER TWO

IMPRINT: PAPER, PRINT, AND MATRIX

> Thus that art [of printmaking] was still new, and, who knows, [the Madonna of the Fire] might have been the first print that came from its first Maker [*suo primo Artefice*], just as the Virgin was the first to come from the hands of the Maker of all [*Facitore del tutto*]?
>
> Giuliano Bezzi, *The Triumphal Fire*[119]

> I seek in these few words [nothing] other than to imprint [*imprimere*] in the hearts of the faithful the true devotion to Virgin Mary in her images, and most of all in this one [the Madonna of the Fire] whose story I tell.
>
> Bartolomeo Ricceputi, *History of the Madonna of the Fire*[120]

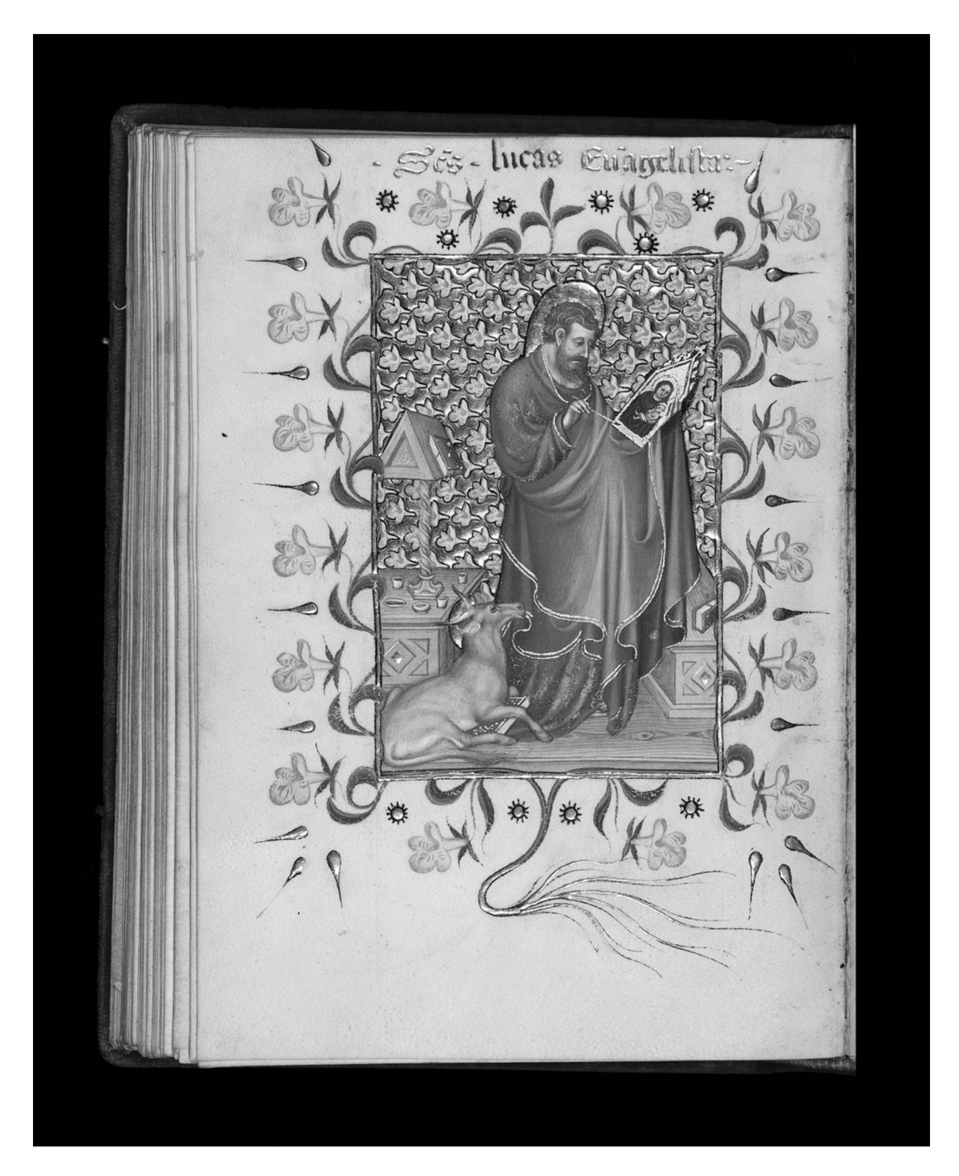
For almost a century and a half after the cult of the Madonna of the Fire was established in Forlì in 1428, another Marian icon, known since the nineteenth century as the Salus Populi Romani or Salvation of the Roman People (Fig. 16), was regularly carried in procession in Rome. The communal ritual of procession (discussed further in Chapters 6 and 7) is a fundamental act in the veneration of any icon, and especially so for this Roman image, one of the most important Marian icons on the Italian peninsula. Its retrospective title refers to a medieval legend that, while bearing it in procession around Rome during the plague of 590, Pope Gregory the Great saw the Archangel Michael sheathing his sword over Hadrian's Mausoleum. In recognition of this vision – understood as a sign that the terrible plague in Rome was ending – the ancient mausoleum was renamed Castel Sant'Angelo, and the icon was associated with the divine protection of the Roman people.[121] Between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries, the Salus Populi Romani was regularly taken around Rome in processions reenacting the Virgin Mary's assumption into heaven, elaborate rituals also



16. Salus Populi Romani, in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome.
Photo: Alinari / Art

involving the icon of Christ that was taken out of the Sancta Sanctorum in the Lateran Palace for these occasions. In 1566, these processions were discontinued, and in 1613 – just five years before the citizens of Forlì began negotiations to build a chapel dedicated the Madonna of the Fire in their cathedral (as discussed in Chapter 5) – the Salus Populi Romani icon was ritually carried into the chapel built by Paul V in the Roman basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, where it remains enshrined today.[122]

Thus, the Salus Populi Romani had an established cult for centuries before Forlì's Madonna of the Fire did. The Roman icon is also centuries older: a date of the late sixth or early seventh century is accepted by many scholars, following Gerhard Wolf,[123] and its legendary origin is even earlier still. For the Salus Populi Romani is one of the images believed by its devotees to have been painted by Saint Luke himself.[124] The legend of manufacture by a saintly artist, who in some versions is given angelic aid in coloring, lends to these Lucan



17. Michelino Molinari da Besozzo, *Saint Luke Painting the Virgin*, ca. 1430. The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. MS M.944, fol. 75v. Purchased with the generous assistance of Alice Tully in memory of Dr. Edward Graeffe, 1970.
Photo: The Pierpont Morgan Library, NY

images an authenticity that was recognized and propagated by fifteenth-, sixteenth-, and seventeenth-century narrative pictures showing Luke at work on his portrait of the Virgin Mary. An illumination by Michelino Molinari da Besozzo in a Latin prayer book now in the Morgan Library, for instance, shows the standing figure of the saint, who applies paint to the golden, gable-topped painting of the Madonna and Child with a delicately rendered brush (Fig. 17).[125]



18. Giorgio Vasari, *Saint Luke Painting the Virgin*, ca. 1565. Fresco. Church of Santissima Annunciata, Florence.
Photo: Scala / Art Resource, NY

Other depictions of the scene, including Giorgio Vasari's late-sixteenth-century fresco in the Florentine church of Santissima Annunciata, make explicit that Luke is rendering a portrait of a sitter who appears before him, in Vasari's painting not in flesh and blood but as a cloud- and angel-borne vision (Fig. 18).

An early-seventeenth-century set of three panels, painted in the circle of Baldassarre Croce and now in the museum of Santa Maria Maggiore itself, explicitly applies the Lucan legend to the Salus Populi Romani (Fig. 19).[126] Gerhard Wolf has even suggested that the two lateral panels served as shutters for the Salus Populi Romani icon itself in the Pauline Chapel at Santa Maria Maggiore.[127] The central image of the triptych (not discussed by Wolf) presents a fully frontal standing Madonna and Child, in the same relative positions in



19. Circle of Baldassarre Croce, *St. Luke Painting the Salus Populi Romani*, early seventeenth century. Oil on panel. Museo della Basilica di S. Maria Maggiore, Rome.
Photo: Courtesy of Prof. Richard Stracke, www.christianiconography.info

which they appear in half-length in the Salus Populi Romani itself. The two side panels share a background, with a single interior architectural setting and a common landscape visible beyond, that is discontinuous with the central panel's niche-like setting. In the panel to the viewer's right, Saint Luke is seated at a tall easel in the act of painting what appears to be the as yet incomplete pair of figures from the central panel; on the left, Luke's putative subject, the Virgin Mary, stands with hands crossed in the distinctive pose of the Salus Populi Romani but without Jesus in her arms (Fig. 16).[128] Whether or not we accept Wolf's reconstruction of the two side panels as shutters for the icon at its seventeenth-century altar, his reading of the "play of references to reality" (*Spiel der Realitätsbezüge*) made possible by positioning the two panels around the shrine is striking: Luke looks across to his model, depicted in the pendant panel on the far side of the very picture being painted by the saint, the enshrined icon itself.[129]

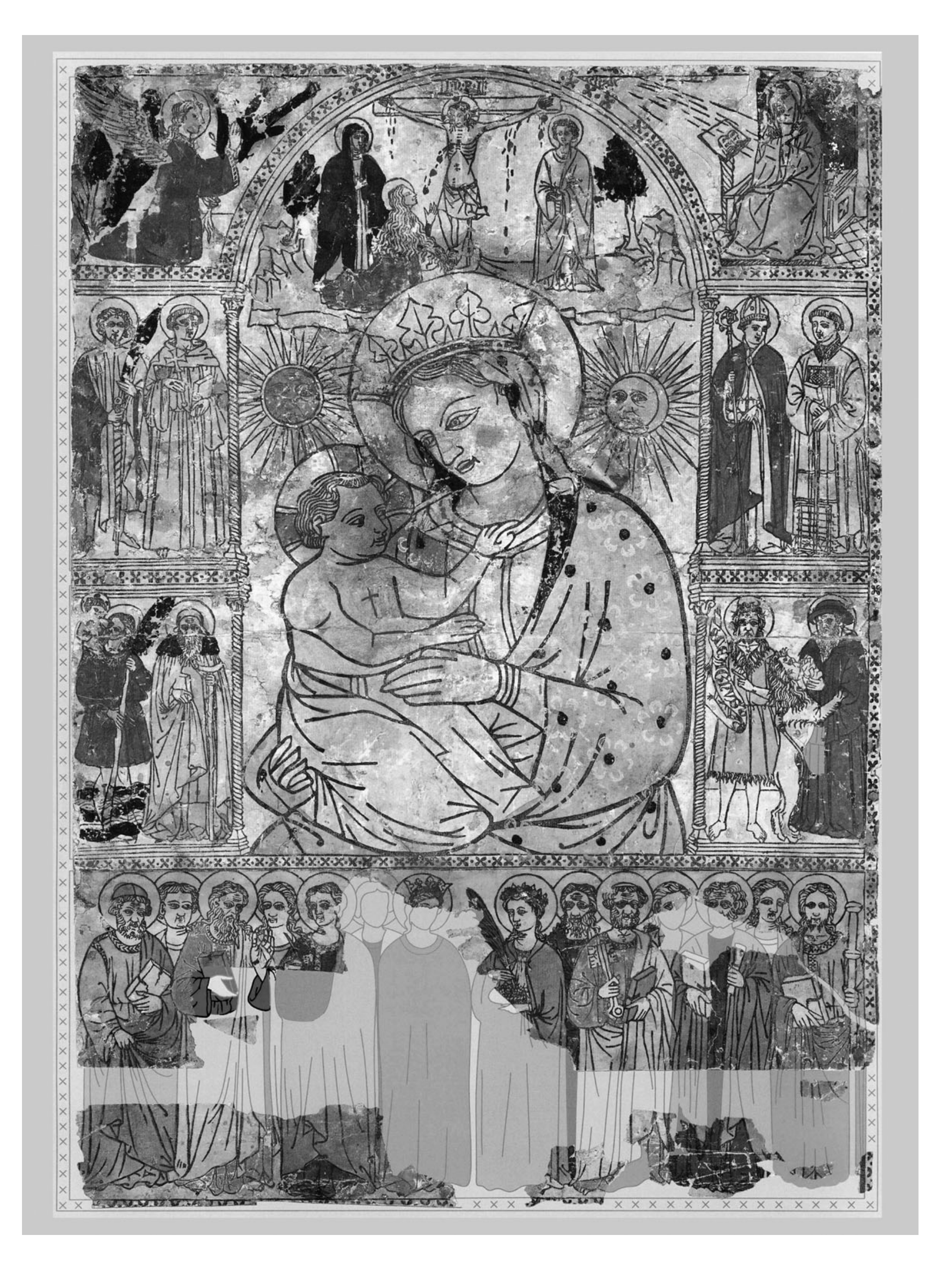
Material facture, even of an immaterial vision, is emphasized in all of these pictures: in the Morgan manuscript, pots of paint surround the bookstand to the evangelist's left, while both Vasari's painting and the right-hand panel of the Salus Populi Romani triptych prominently feature an easel, palette, and paintbrush. The fact that the saint who had known the Virgin Mary and had described her life at length in his gospel manually made such a picture – the Salus Populi Romani icon – legitimized it as a true likeness of the Madonna. In contrast, the Madonna of the Fire does not enjoy this type of legitimization. Indeed (as seen in Chapter 2's first epigraph), Giuliano Bezzi does not claim the

Madonna of the Fire was made by Saint Luke but draws an even more exalted parallel with no less than God himself: the Madonna of the Fire is to the Virgin Mary as the first printmaker is to the "Maker of All." Not concerned with the name or date of that ur-printmaker, Bezzi instead repeatedly pairs the papery materiality of the Madonna of the Fire with references to divinity, for instance in a single short passage calling it "this Holy Paper," "a promissory note from God," and "this miraculous sheet."[130] The late-seventeenth-century chaplain of Forlì's cathedral, Bartolommeo Ricceputi, who was (as we will see in Chapter 4) much more matter-of-fact in his descriptions, nonetheless, also used metaphors of printing and imprinting repeatedly in his discussions of the Madonna of the Fire. In this chapter's second epigraph for instance, Ricceputi employs the long-standing metaphor of devotion "imprinted" onto the hearts of the faithful, a trope which becomes all the more pointed given that he is discussing a print.

This chapter explores the ways in which the medium of print can offer legitimacy to a religious image, such as the Madonna of the Fire, not through being the handiwork of a saintly maker but through similarities with pictures that "make themselves" through a hands-off process of imprinting. Acheiropoieta, or images "not made by human hands," have a no less venerable genealogy than those painted by Saint Luke: for example, the veil of Veronica (discussed later in this chapter) is said to have been made by pressing a cloth upon the sweating, bleeding face of Christ as he carried his cross. Printing, defined as the transfer of ink from a prepared wooden or copper matrix to a support of paper, cloth, or vellum, parallels the act of blotting Christ's damp face with a veil, or of imprinting a bronze seal into warm wax to authenticate a document, or of pressing a cloth to a saint's body to make a contact relic.[131] In attending to the relationships between an imprint and its matrix, we can better place the Madonna of the Fire within the spectrum of resonant physical matter so central to Christian belief, ranging from relics to the Eucharistic wafer.[132]

PAPER AND INK

The Madonna of the Fire of Forlì was last examined as a physical object, removed from its shrine, in 1989–90 when conservator Nicolangelo Scianna performed microbiological, raking-light, and radiographic analyses to ensure that it was in stable condition.[133] According to his report, the icon is a large fifteenth-century woodcut printed on an irregular rectangle of paper now about 19 inches tall and 16 inches wide (493 millimeters × 397 millimeters). The paper is laid down on a piece of cardboard, a modern backing that replaced the plank of wood to which it had been attached early on and which had already been replaced before 1686.[134] Evident cropping of the image indicates that the print was once significantly larger, and Scianna suggests it was originally perhaps around 22 inches high and 16 inches wide (or 555 millimeters × 405



Color Plate II. Nicolangelo Scianna. Digital reconstruction of the Madonna of the Fire. Courtesy of Prof. Nicolangelo Scianna.

millimeters; see his digital reconstruction in Plate II). In addition to the black printing ink, the woodcut has been colored by hand, likely in two campaigns, in blue, green, dark orange, a lighter peach, red, yellow, and white. The upper corners, which show Gabriel and the Virgin Annunciate, were at some point cut out with scissors and pasted back before the print was enshrined.

Though the printmaker could have printed the entire image on a single sheet of Imperial-sized paper, he did not choose to do so, and in fact used two pieces of paper of different manufacture.[135] There is no watermark on either sheet, but Scianna concluded in his report that "one can clearly date the paper between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries."[136] One piece of paper bears the top of the image, from the now-cropped top horizontal strip of decorative x's and dots to the second, similar strip that extends below the figures of the Madonna and Child and the lower register of standing saints flanking her to either side. The second piece of paper contains the now much-damaged isocephalic row of haloed standing figures at the bottom of the print.

Despite this use of different papers, there are strong indications that the two parts of the print are meant to make up a single picture: the consistency in the execution of the dot-and-x decoration in all the strips dividing the picture; the uniformity in how hair, hands, and drapery is handled in the small figures from top to bottom; and (as we have seen in the previous chapter) parallels to how pictorial space is divided in late-medieval domestic devotional paintings. Prints of this large size would have been ambitious and challenging to produce, generally requiring two separate woodblocks printed and two sheets of paper joined to make each impression.[137] A single large fifteenth-century woodblock a full 387 millimeters in height, now in Modena, is carved only with the bottom half of a Madonna and Child, with the legs and torso of a naked Jesus standing balanced on a sickle moon, and holding an orb together with his long-tressed mother amid an aureole of rays. An impression printed from this block would be pasted to one from the now-missing block carved with the top of the image in order to make a large print of the entire composition.[138] In the late fifteenth century, Francesco Rosselli and the Mantegnesque "Premier Engraver" made prints from which individual scenes and decorative borders could be glued together; in the sixteenth century these types of printed assemblages achieved a monumental scale of ten feet or more in height.[139]

If the Madonna of the Fire is not a truly wall-sized print of that grand scale, neither can it be categorized as one of the small prints of saints known in Italy as *santini* that were sold and priced by the hundred and given out on feast days.[140] The Madonna of the Fire is quite large – roughly half a meter or some two feet tall – and very few fifteenth-century woodcuts of this impressive scale have survived. Wilhelm Ludwig Schreiber's fundamental handbook of fifteenth-century relief prints includes only four woodcuts of the Madonna and Child with similar dimensions, comparable in size (as we have seen in the last chapter) to many domestic devotional paintings. None of the four large Marian woodcuts catalogued by Schreiber is the Madonna of the Fire itself, an omission that is not surprising given his focus on museum and library collections and that icon's enshrinement in Forlì's cathedral. One of these four large Marian woodcuts listed by Schreiber is the print for which the bottom woodblock now is in Modena; another, a Madonna of the Rosary now in Berlin, survives only as a



20. Northern Italian, *The Virgin with the Infant Christ Child on Her Knee*, 1450–75. Woodcut colored by hand and pasted onto wood, 65 cm × 45.7 cm. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London

fragment.[141] The third large Marian woodcut included by Schreiber and now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, shows a full-length seated Madonna in a mandorla, holding Jesus on her lap and wearing a crown on her head (Fig. 20).[142] In this print, Mary's halo extends beyond the starburst rays of the mandorla and encroaches into a patterned border that may well have appeared on all four edges of the print. However, the paper support of the print had been glued to a wooden board, and efforts to remove it from the wood or long-term deleterious effects of the glue have caused large losses around the perimeter as well as across the center of the print. Schreiber's fourth example of a large Madonna and Child print, now in the British Museum, shows an enthroned Madonna with a nursing Child on her lap; saints seem to stand on either side of her throne while Gabriel and the Virgin Annunciate appear in small roundels in

the sheet's top corners.[143] This print still shows bright areas of hand-colored red and blue, especially on Mary's mantle, though there are many losses, especially around the print's edges. In this case, it is known that before the print arrived in London in the nineteenth century to become part of William Mitchell's collection, the print had been attached to the wall above a door, or perhaps to the door itself, in an old house in Bassano.[144]

In his 1935 *Introduction to a History of Woodcut*, Arthur Hind explicitly compared Forlì's Madonna of the Fire to the two large-scale Marian woodcuts now in London at the Victoria and Albert Museum and the British Museum. Looking to these comparanda and considering the 1428 fire that Forlì's woodcut apparently survived, Hind added, "There is nothing impossible from [the Madonna of the Fire's] style in so early an origin, though were it not for the story I should have been more inclined to place it nearer the middle of the [fifteenth] century."[145] The dating put forth for the Madonna of the Fire has fluctuated from the late 1300s to the mid-1400s,[146] and that of other well-known fifteenth-century prints has varied by decades as well. For example, Hind himself and others accepted the inscribed year "1423" on the Buxheim *St. Christopher* as an indication of when the woodcut was made, but this dating has recently been pushed later to the mid–fifteenth century.[147] Given the flux in how scholars have dated fifteenth-century prints recently as well as the current absence of conclusive material or documentary evidence, it seems impossible now to fix a firm date to the Forlì print.[148]

Neither Bezzi nor Ricceputi, our signal seventeenth-century commentators on the cult of the Madonna of the Fire, had any clear idea about when the Madonna of the Fire had been printed, aside from a general acceptance that it had been before the fire of 1428. Ricceputi wrote in 1685, "It has been two hundred fifty-seven years since it saved itself from the fire, and God knows how many more had passed since it had come out of the printing press."[149] For neither Bezzi nor Ricceputi, both great devotees of the Madonna of the Fire, did a lack of knowledge about the exact date of its making diminish its thaumaturgic power, which I argue in this chapter was enhanced, not diminished, by the fact it was printed.

The Madonna of the Fire's enshrinement in its newly constructed and decorated chapel in Forlì's cathedral as well as the concomitant ritual and literary activity (discussed in Chapters 4 and 5) has led to the apt description of the period in which Bezzi and Ricceputi wrote as "the Madonna of the Fire's Golden Century."[150] The seventeenth century also has long been celebrated for the prints made by artists such as Rembrandt on which a history of Old Master prints has been legitimately and productively focused. In thinking about the fifteenth-century Madonna of the Fire as a print, we need to recognize our own position within an art history that has internalized certain discourses about prints made between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries in order to attend to our own horizons of expectations and to modify them as appropriate.[151]

Many members of Forlì's devotional community – including Bezzi and Ricceputi – also significantly postdate the printing of Forlì's Madonna of the Fire, so exclusive attention to the fifteenth century – from which we have the least historical information – is unwarranted. At this point it seems more productive instead to consider the Madonna of the Fire's place in early modern print history and historiography, asking how viewers from the fifteenth through the seventeenth century – and beyond – have discussed it and prints in general.

EARLY MODERN PRINT HISTORY

In the fifteenth century, printmaking was a growing new technology of image production, and Giuliano Bezzi emphasized the icon's early making and status as a print, describing it as "an image of Our Lady crudely printed [*rozzamente stampata*] in woodcut on a sheet [of paper]."[152] As we have seen in this chapter's epigraph, in the next passage Bezzi sanctifies the art of printing by comparing the printmaker with "the Maker of all"; furthermore, his equivocal claim that the Madonna of the Fire "might have been the first print" allows Bezzi to compare the icon with Mary herself, even while supplanting Adam and Eve as the first human beings created.

In any case, scholars of print history can say with certainty that a woodcut which escaped destruction in 1428 was not the world's first print, nor even the Western world's first. The process of impressing ink from a charged matrix onto a cloth or parchment support was in use in Italy from the late fourteenth century.[153] By the second decade of the fifteenth century, "several thousand [devotional images] are made daily" (*plura millia facta sunt et quotidie fiunt*) and on feast days, such printed images were festively displayed both in public and private spaces.[154] By 1440, the market for prints was already enormous: in that year a merchant in Padua signed a single contract for the purchase of 3,500 images, "printed and colored, as is commonly done" (*stampite et colorate*, *ut comuniter fit*).[155] Even at this early date, printed images would have been ubiquitous, seen surrounded by flowers in churches and also in domestic spaces, in which, a century later, Cardinal Silvio Antoniano would explicitly suggest hanging printed pictures of saints for those who could not afford painted ones.[156]

By the time Cardinal Antoniano was writing in the late sixteenth century, prints had become ubiquitous in another sense. Relatively inexpensive, physically portable, and routinely produced in hundreds or thousands of impressions, prints could go everywhere, and in the early modern period they did. For example, Francesco Borgia, third General of the Jesuit Order from 1565–72, set up a printing workshop at Sant'Andrea a Monte Cavallo in Rome, and "sent from Rome innumerable prints, of diverse forms and materials, to the East and West Indies, to Japan, to Germany, Poland, and Spain, and other provinces."[157] European prints were used as models for artistic

production in the New World; in one case, a Rubenesque composition, transported to Mexico through an engraving by Paul Pontius, was used for a sculpture that itself became a miraculous icon, the Virgin of El Pueblito, in Querétaro.[158] An Italian who became known as Juan Pablos worked with the Spanish Cromberger firm to establish the first printing press in Mexico City in September 1539.[159] Print matrices and other means of print production were also sent with missionaries headed out into the far reaches of the early modern world.[160] If, as Elizabeth Eisenstein and others have argued, prints and printing were indispensable for the Protestant Reformation, they were also a vital part of the technology of empire of the early modern Catholic Church.[161]

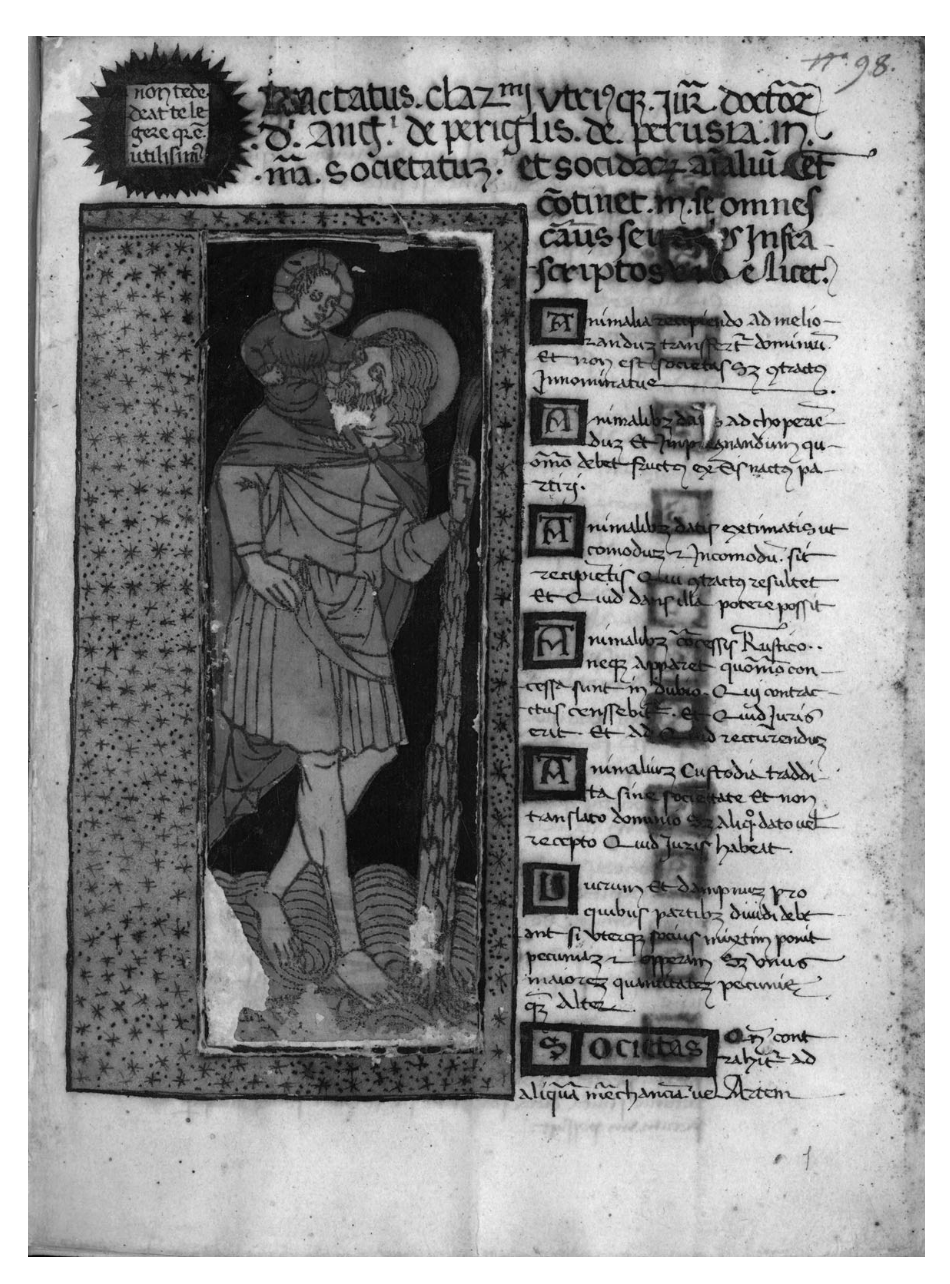
As ubiquitous as prints were in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, few examples of early-fifteenth-century prints have survived, and most Quattrocento prints now exist only in a single impression, though they were likely made in editions of some hundreds or even thousands. The reasons for this low survival rate are not hard to imagine: often produced for purposes that included repeated handling (such as playing cards or game boards) or displayed by nailing or gluing to hard surfaces (such as walls, doors, or domestic furnishings as the British Museum and Victoria and Albert Museum Marian prints discussed above), the majority of fifteenth-century prints simply – unlike the sturdier lead or tin stamped pilgrim badges– were not durable enough to last through the centuries.[162] Many other early prints served as political propaganda, holiday greetings, or annual calendars, and so were disposed of after a lifespan that was limited from the start. As Jan van der Stock emphasized, "The vast majority of the prints made in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were simply disposable commodities."[163] Nonetheless, this disposability should not lead us to assume that only those who could not afford more durable or expensive pictures used early prints. An extraordinary case of an early-sixteenth-century woodcut wallpaper surviving *in situ* in the sacristy of the Sistine Chapel makes clear that these types of prints were enjoyed by a broad spectrum of society, including its most privileged members. The woodcut wallpaper displays della Rovere acorns, demonstrating that Pope Julius II could choose to cover over his papal predecessors' wall decorations either with frescoes painted by Raphael, as in the Vatican Stanze, or with wallpaper produced by printing, as in the sacristy of the Sistina.[164]

Many of the fifteenth-century prints that have survived did so because early users pasted or bound them into books, either printed or manuscript.[165] Except when the codex was being read, prints incorporated into the text block in this way were generally kept flat, dry, and away from light, optimal conditions for works on paper. These material contexts for the prints have also offered later scholars a glimpse into how they were used by fifteenth-century viewers. For even if as Peter Schmidt states, "Traces of original ownership, indications of the response of viewers and evidence of particular modes of use have been erased on a scale even greater than for other pictorial media," the rare survivals have

provided rich opportunities for much of the most exciting recent research on fifteenth-century prints.[166] Schmidt, for example, has demonstrated how Anna Jäck (active 1430–d. 1481), prioress of the convent in Inzigkofen, collected both prints and hand-drawn pictures to paste into a manuscript she completed in 1449. The text, *Leben Jesu der Schwester Regula*, was a manual intended to teach its readers to meditate by envisioning in the fullest possible detail scenes from Christ's life and Passion. As an external aid to this contemplation, Jäck collected forty-five small images to paste beside the relevant passages. She began writing the manuscript only after obtaining all the pictures, which fit neatly into the blank spaces she had left in the columns of text. Jäck was concerned with neither the pictures' makers nor the techniques used; rather she combined manuscript text, colored woodcuts, and painted miniatures to suggest to her readers images they could bring to mind during their devotions.[167]

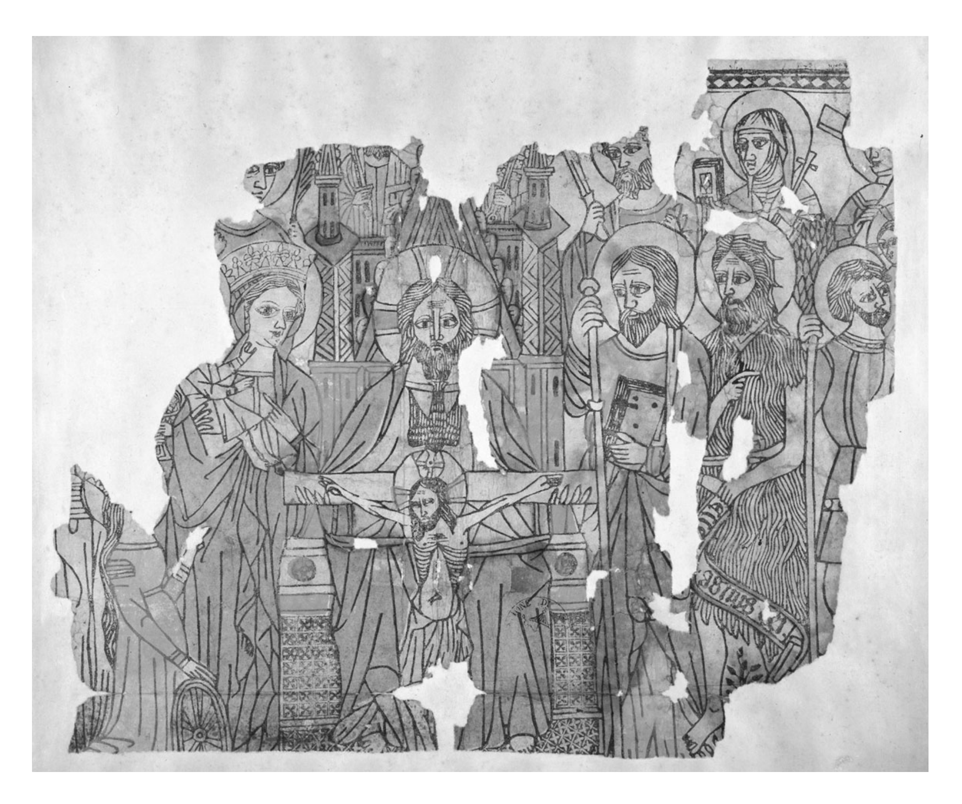
Jäck's slightly younger Italian contemporary, Jacopo Rubieri (b. ca. 1430), used the prints he gathered in a different manner. A notary and jurist born in Parma who likely traveled to Northern Europe and the Dalmatian Coast before settling in Padua and then Venice, Rubieri gathered legal notes in the 1470s and 1480s for preparing his juridical cases.[168] Unlike Jäck's devotional manual, Rubieri's handwritten compilations were thus made for secular purposes, although most of the prints he pasted into them depicted saints or religious scenes. Like Jäck, Rubieri did not hesitate to bring together different media, gathering woodcuts, metalcuts, engravings, drawings, and a painted miniature into his books. Many of the prints were removed from Rubieri's manuscripts for the purposes of display in the late nineteenth century, but the first folio of an intact volume now in Pesaro shows how, after a heading that stretches across the width of the page, he shaped his text block into a single column to accommodate a woodcut of Saint Christopher (Fig. 21).[169] Rubieri framed the tall and narrow print in a hand-colored rectangle filled with stars he drew, and silhouetted the printed background behind the figures with the same black ink he had used for his text. David Areford suggests that this opening image was appropriate for a well-traveled Christian, such as Rubieri, since "starting the day by looking at an image of the saint was believed to protect the viewer . . . from the *mala mors*, or bad death," that especially threatened those away from home.[170]

While Jäck and Rubieri gathered their prints and other illustrations for their books from diverse sources, by the second half of the fifteenth century some printmakers were actively targeting the manuscript market. As Ursula Weekes has shown, the Master of the Berlin Passion and his circle made diminutive prints of popular scenes enclosed by decorative borders, designed to appeal to the makers of quarto- or octavo-sized manuscript devotional books.[171] Moreover, some of these printmakers worked cooperatively to produce series of prints on the rectos and versos of paper sheets such that the narrative sequence of the images was correct only when the sheets were folded and gathered into



21. Northern Italian, *St. Christopher*, fifteenth century. Woodcut with hand coloring, pasted into Rubieri notebook, 195 × 65 mm, Biblioteca Oliveriana, Cod. 98, fol. 1r, Pesaro

the quires of a codex. Text then could be added by hand, following the sequence of printed images in what amounted to "illustrated manuscript kits."[172] A surviving manuscript prayerbook with fifty engravings by the Master of the Ten Thousand Martyrs, now in Vienna, allows the reconstruction of where and in what orientation each copper plate had been placed for printing on each

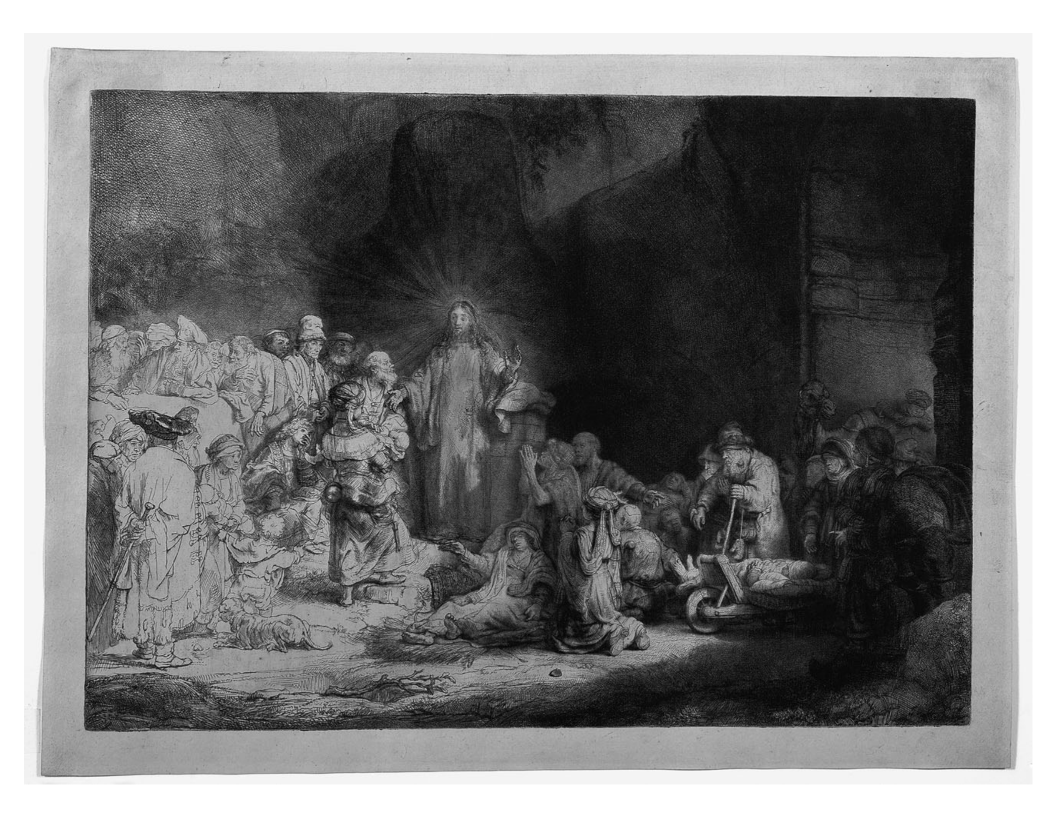


22. Northern Italian, *Trinity and Saints.* Woodcut with hand coloring. Inv. N. 45, Instituzione Biblioteca Classense, Ravenna

sheet. The prayerbook also shows offset ink indicating that the sheets for the kit from which it was made were stacked before the prints had dried completely.[173]

Besides those prints that have come down to us in physical contexts provided by their early users, there are examples of fifteenth-century prints that have survived accidentally. A fragment from another very early woodcut, the *Trinity*, now in Ravenna (Fig. 22) was in 1896 salvaged from a bookbinding in which it had been used as binder's waste.[174] An early- to mid-fifteenth-century woodcut of the *Crucifixion* that had been enshrined in a tabernacle in the Palazzo Pretorio in Prato was walled up during later renovations to the building and only rediscovered in 1893.[175] These scattered serendipitous survivals only underscore how many fifteenth-century prints we have lost.

Prints made between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have survived in vastly greater numbers, and through the twentieth century had generally been studied using three time-honored approaches that have not served the oldest prints as well as the more recent, viewer-centered approaches of Schmidt, Areford, and Weekes. The first type of interpretation was developed from the study of prints, such as Rembrandt's *Hundred Guilder Print* of 1648, given that name because of the high price it commanded even within years of its



23. Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Hundred Guilder Print*, 1648. Etching, engraving, and drypoint. State ii/ii. 281 mm × 392 mm. Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised Gift of Mark S. Weil and Phoebe Dent Weil to the St. Louis Art Museum

making.[176] The print – especially in its most subtle impressions (Fig. 23) – is a study in chiaroscuro, from the standing figures, flooded with light and defined by outline, at the far left; to the figures all but lost in the darkness at the extreme right. Near the center of the print, Christ stands, his halo radiating into the shadows, to welcome the children brought for blessing: "Suffer little children, and forbid them not, to come unto me; for of such is the kingdom of heaven."[177] The subtle play of light and dark continues on Christ's body, which acts as a screen for the shadow of the kneeling man's clasped hands. One recent commentator wrote of this print, "Rembrandt's masterly illumination of this complex scene may fairly be said to rival his most celebrated painting, the *Night Watch*," thus implicitly linking Rembrandt's work as an etcher and as a painter.[178] Indeed, in his 1797 catalogue raisonnée of Rembrandt's prints, Adam von Bartsch joined those activities with a hyphen, describing the artist as a *peintre-graveur*, a concept that he would continue to develop in his magisterial series of that title.[179]

The second interpretative strategy arose around prints such as Marcantonio Raimondi's *Parnassus* (Fig. 24), an engraving closely related to Raphael's fresco



24. Marcantonio Raimondi and Raphael, *Parnassus*, ca. 1517–20. Engraving, 36.8 cm × 48.4 cm (sheet). Courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC

of that subject in the Stanza della Segnatura. There are many similarities: both the fresco and the engraving show muses and poets grouped around a central, music-making Apollo, who sits before one of three clumps of trees, with the window frame of the Stanza della Segnatura cutting into the pictorial field from below. Though there are of course also many significant differences as well – differences I have addressed elsewhere[180] – the ties between print and painting in this and other cases led Marcantonio's engravings to be characterized as repetitions of Raphael's work. In a fundamental mid-twentieth-century study of the printmaker, Bernice Davidson went so far as to describe his oeuvre as "entirely reproductive."[181]

The third interpretative approach is generally applied to prints less well known than either Rembrandt's *100 Guilder Print* or Marcantonio's *Parnassus*, both of which are monuments in the history of prints and in the history of art. One good example appears on the instruction sheet (Fig. 25), published in 1684 by Jan Rieuwertsz (II), for the proper use and storage of the new continuous-stream water pump that had been invented in 1672 by the Fire Master General Jan van der Heyden.[182] Against a wall supporting torches (labeled M), a hand lantern (labeled N), and ladders (labeled L), we see the



ORDRE,

OP 'T GEBRUYK DER SLANG-BRAND-SPUYTEN.

FIGURE, vertoonende de BRAND-SPUYT zo als die met zijn toebehoren altijd in de Brand-Spuyt-Huysjes gereedt staat, om na den Brand gebragt en aldaar gebruykt te worden.

A HANDBOMEN, stekende in de draag-beugels van de Spuyt.
B SPUYT-SLANG by C vast geschroeft, en zonder eenige omdrajinge heen en weer over de Spuyt geslagen, hangende de bogten ten weder-zijde ruim een handslengte van de straat.
D SPUYT-PYP, vast aan gemelte Slang geschroeft, en op de Spuyt, onder de Balans geleyt.
E WATER-ZAK leggende op de Spuyt, zo, dat de Spuyt-slang van boven daar mee bedeckt is, en de eene Sport van desselfs Schraag O onder 't voor-end van de Balans komt.
F WATER-SLANG-BAK met de geheele Water-slang, zonder eenige omslagen, zo effen als doenlijck is, daar in opgeschoten; leggende dan zodanig dat dezelve niet anders als ordentlijk met de gantse naat op eene zy kan uytvallen.
G GEREEDSCHAP-ZAK, verzien met een yseren Hamer, Nijp-tang, 5 a 6 bosjes Woel-touw, 4 Leere Digt-bind-lappe, en 8 a 9 Leere Schroef-ringen, hangende aan 't agter-end van de Balans.
H TOU om de Spuyt-pijp en Slang, des nodig mee op te halen na de hoogte, hangende aan 't zelve agter-end van de Balans.
I TRECK-TOU van de Spuyt, opgeschoten hangende aan 't voor-end van de Balans.
K INLOOP-PYP, daar het los-end van de Water-slang wordt over heen gehaalt, en om vast gebonden, om 't Water in de Spuyt te brengen.
L Twee WATER-LEERE, om uit de Graften Water te scheppen.
M Twee LAMPETTEN, elck voorzien met 6 a 8 Peck-kransen, om des nachts met d'eene by de Brand-spuyt, en met d'andere by de Water-scheppers aan de Water-kant te lichten.
N HAND-LANTAAREN met een kaars daar in, om ontrent den Brand lopende mee te lichten.

INSTRUCTIE VAN 'T GEBRUYK IN ONGEVAL VAN BRAND.

Brand onstaan zijnde moet de Brand-spuyt met zijn toebehoren, ten spoedigste by den Brand, en 6 a 8 Brand-emmers by 't naaste water gebragt, en de 2 leeren, 3 a 4 voet van elkander in 't zelve water gezet worden.

Dan moet aanstonts de Water-zak E, met de Slang-bak F, te gelijk van de Spuyt afgenomen, en aan de waterkant gebragt worden: dog de Water-zak by de leeren aan 't water neer gezet zijnde, moet de Slang-bak aanstonts weer te rug na de Spuyt worden gebragt; latende gaande-weg de Slang daar uyt vallen op de straat; en by de Spuyt gekomen zijnde, moet het overschot van de Slang (als die te lang is) afgesneden en in de Slang-bak gelaten worden, en het ander end, ('t zy datter afgesneden is of niet) over de Inloop-pijp K gehaalt en vast gebonden worden. Maar als 't gebeurt dat deze Slang te kort is, en volgens dien het eynd desselfs op Straat komt neer te vallen eer datmen aan de Spuyt is, zo moet de rest tot aan de Spuyt met treden afgemeten, en de Water-zak gelijk getal van treden van het water af nader aan de Spuyt gezet, en de Slang die op de straat leid, tot aan de Spuyt toe voort gehaalt, en insgelijks (als voor verhaalt) aan gebonden worden; en moet in zodanigen geval de tusse spatie, tusschen het water en de Water-zak met twee dubbelde rangen volk, malkander het water met emmers overgevende gesuppleert worden.

Zo dra ook als de Water-zak aan de waterkant by de Leeren is neer gezet, moet aanstonts water geschept en in de Zak gegoten worden, 't welk dan voort geduriglijk zonder ophouden moet continueren, tot dat den Brand is uytgeblust;

Zo moet ook aanstonts de Spuyt-pijp D en Spuyt-slang B van de Spuyt af genomen, en na den Brand toe uyt geleid worden, door de bequaamste en naaste weg; 't zy door 't voorste van 't brandende huys zelve, zo den Brand in de achter-deelen is; of door een van de naast aanstaande huyzen als den Brand is tot voor aan den straat, en boven 't dak uit brandt. En zo 't zelve leiden van de Slang moet geschieden door een hoog venster of over een dak, zo moet van daar het Ophaal-touw H (dat tot dien einde by de Spuyt is) aan de naaste luts, by de Spuyt-pijp vast gebonden, om de Spuyt-pijp geslagen, en zo gezamentlijk opgehaalt worden.

En moeten die geene die de Slang van de Spuyt af vieren, niet meer bot toe geven, als de gene die de Slang uit leggen of ophalen, na haar trekken: tot dat zy klaar zijnde roepen, gaat jou gang, dan moetenze de rest voort teffens van de Spuyt af nemen, en op de straat in een ronde bogt uit leggen.

Insgelijks moet ondertusschen mede het volk aan de Spuyt in goede order werden gestelt om te pompen, gietende al voren een weinig water in de Buyzen op beide de Zuygers.

Onder 't schieten van 't water door de Water-slang moet gelet worden of 't water over al onverhindert kan door schieten.

De pompers van de Spuyt moeten zo haast als zy eenig water in de Spuyt ontfangen hebben, eerst een korte wijl met sachte slagen pompen; ten einde, zo de Spuyt-slang niet wel mogt geredt wezen, het zelve onderwijlen zou konnen geschieden: waar toe 2 a 3 personen langs die slang moeten gaan, d'omslagen na 't voor-end doen uit-schieten, en de toenijpende bogten rond uit leggen: maar alles klaar bevonden zijnde, moeten zy niet af laten te pompen, voor dat den Brand is uitgeblust.

Achter de hand van de gene die met de Spuyt-pijp het water in den Brand stuurt, moet altijt iemandt staan om de Slang in een ronde bogt te houden, ten einde dat die door haar swaarte neer hangende, geen toenijpende bogt kort agter de Spuyt-pijp maakt.

De Spuyt-pijp verplaatst moetende worden, moet de Slang, om niet te sleepen, opgenomen, en na gedragen worden.

Als de Spuyt slang te kort is, kanze verlangt worden, met een deel van een andere Spuyt daar aan te schroeven; zijnde de schroeven gemaakt datze alle op malkanderen passen. En op de zelve wijze kanze mede worden verkort.

Om aan te schroeven, moet aan de groote Spuiten 8 en aan de kleine 6 omslagen verkeert in de Slang gedrait worden, om door het schroeven geen omslagen in de Slang te krijgen; en tusschen de schroeven moet een Leere-ring zijn omze waterdigt te maken.

By vriezend weer moet zo veel mogelijk is de Spuyt vol water en in geduurige beweging gehouden worden, om 't bevriezen van Spuyt en Slang voor te komen.

Eenige leckagie in de Slangen zijnde, moet digt gemaakt werden, met een Leere digt bind-lap, (die ten dien einde in de Gereetschap-zak G zijn) in maniere als hier neven word aangewezen; leggende de woelingen van de midden (A) af rakende aan malkander, na de enden toe, en dus konnen de gaten hoe groot, al warenze meer als een vinger lang, met stijf aan te trekken en de slagen digt aan malkander te leggen, volkomen digt gebonden worden.

De Brand-spuit-Meesters moeten 't geene voorsz is, uit alle haar macht voort zetten, en een iegelijk aan 't werk, en tot zijn devoir te doen commanderen, en ook des noots zijnde, de ledige kijkers tot hulp der geaffecteerdens pressen.

De Assistenten moeten de Brand-spuit-Meesters gehoorzamen, en het werk van Brand-blussen met allen yver en wackerheit voortpressen, de eene by de Brand-spuit, en d'ander by de Water-kant, daar het Water word geschept.

Den Brand gebluft zijnde, moeten zy beide de Slangen laten uitwateren en over de Spuit opschieten, en na bekomen verlof, de Spuit met al zijn verder toebehooren, in des zelfs Brand-spuit-huisje brengen.

t' Amsterdam, by JAN RIEUWERTSZ. Stads-Drukker, en Boekverkoper, in de Beurs-straat, in 't Martelaars-boek, 1654.

25. *Instructions for Jan van der Heyden's Water Pump*, 1648. Etching and moveable type, 315 mm × 384 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

water pump, with all of its parts similarly labeled: A for the pump handles, B for the pressure hose, and so forth. The placement of the depicted objects; the alphabetic labels inserted into the picture; and the matching, keyed written passages on the sheet all work to give this print maximum clarity. It is a pictorial statement informing us about the proper equipment for firefighting in late-seventeenth-century Amsterdam, and as a print, it can carry that information to hundreds of dispersed viewers, by repeating it, as William Ivins put it, "exactly."[183]

Thus Rembrandt's *Hundred Guilder Print*, Marcantonio's *Parnassus*, and the print showing van der Heyden's water pump can stand as exemplars of three long-standing approaches to early modern prints: broadly speaking, the first, a product of an artist who makes both paintings and prints; the second, a reproductive work, dependent on, or even degraded from, another image that precedes it; and the third, an exactly repeatable pictorial statement of information. These approaches are not productive when studying most fifteenth-century prints, especially an early, anonymous, religious print such as the Madonna of the Fire. A more fruitful strategy would be to consider these prints not as

repetitions of another image, nor as a means of information transfer, nor as creations of a printmaking painter, but rather as multiples made by contact with a charged matrix in another framework. It is true that in the sixteenth century, printing could be mistrusted, as no less a figure than Martin Luther mistrusted the pirating of his German Bible,[184] and at the end of the eighteenth century, William Blake would write about "a Printing house in Hell."[185] But in the fifteenth century, and even well beyond, pious viewers could see prints as having wholly positive, even miraculous, connotations.

THE PRINT IN THE AGE OF MIRACULOUS REPRODUCIBILITY

Printing was described as a "divine art" (*sancta ars*) as early as 1468, in Giovanni Andrea de Bussi's introduction to Sweynhem and Pannartz's Roman edition of Saint Jerome's letters. By 1515, Leo X praised printing as an invention that "had come down from the heavens as a gift from God."[186] By the end of the sixteenth century, Tommaso Garzoni would describe printing as a "truly rare, stupendous and miraculous art" that "had reawakened men's spirits from the slumber of ignorance."[187]

The sense that printing was a "divine art" went beyond its prodigious efficacy in producing and disseminating knowledge.[188] As Walter Melion has demonstrated, some early modern writers used the same Latin verbs – *imprimere*, *compungere*, *incidere* – to describe the material practices of printmaking and the spiritual exercise of prayer. For instance, an early-seventeenth-century prayer-book handwritten by Cistercian Martinus Boschman makes phenomenological puns between the engravings incorporated into the manuscript volume that are "pierced" by the burin and the penitent Christian's call for his sinful flesh to be "pierced" by remorse.[189] In late-seventeenth-century Forlì, the same vocabulary is in use in Italian: as this chapter's opening epigraph already has shown, Bartolomeo Ricceputi used the same verb, "to imprint" [*imprimere*], to discuss how the Madonna of the Fire's devotees held their devotion to the Virgin Mary in their hearts. Later in his book, Ricceputi describes the Madonna of the Fire as "the sole imprint [*impronto*] of your image, this miraculous paper saved in the midst of flames," and prays "with the depths of my heart printed [*stampate*] with [the Madonna's] name."[190]

This vocabulary of imprinting and printing is particularly resonant when it appears, as it does with Ricceputi, in a printed book about a printed icon, though these metaphors predate the fifteenth century.[191] For the technique of printing itself inherited the resonances that the processes of sealing and minting had already acquired by the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Aristotelian models of memory, in which sensate information is impressed into perception, drew on the metaphor of using a seal on wax,[192] as did the theory of images laid out by Theodore the Studite, written amid the iconoclastic controversy of the

eighth and ninth centuries. Theodore's writing in particular discussed the relationship of a matrix and its impression as a way to understand the relationship between Christ and depictions of him:

> If he who looks at the seal and its imprint sees a similar and unchanged form in both, then the imprint exists in the seal even before the impression is made. The seal shows its desire for honor when it makes itself available for impression in many different materials. In the same way, although we believe that Christ's own image is in Him as He has human form, nevertheless when we see His image materially depicted in different ways, we praise His greatness more magnificently. For the failure to go forth into a material imprint eliminates His existence in human form.[193]

As Herbert Kessler noted, this statement "attached the process of creating images to the Incarnation itself."[194] By the late fourteenth century, Catherine of Siena had made the connection to the Incarnation explicit, writing in a letter to the nuns of the Monastery of Santa Marta of Siena, "[Christ] had the form of flesh, and [Mary], like warm wax, received the imprint of the desire and love of our salvation by the seal and of the seal of the Holy Spirit, by the means of which seal the eternal and divine Word was incarnate."[195] When in 1547 the Council of Trent emphasized the importance of baptism, confirmation, and other sacraments, it also used this trope, stating in the decree that they "imprint . . . a character, namely a spiritual and indelible mark, . . . on the soul."[196] The image of impressing a matrix onto a receptive surface had become the favored one for describing the relationships between the divine and the human world.

On a more material level, imprinting was used in the manufacture of Eucharistic wafers, preparing roundels of dough that would, during the canon of the Mass, undergo transubstantiation and become the body of Christ. Reformation and Counter Reformation debates about the theological bases of and proper ritual for the Mass included the questions of whether bread or wafer should be offered to participants in the Eucharist, and who should be allowed to prepare the bread or wafer to be used.[197] Between the early and late sixteenth century, the Catholic mass changed, generally becoming more uniform, especially after the publication of the Tridentine missal in 1570. Yet the technology for making Host wafers, as well as the sweet dessert wafers known in Italy as *cialde*, remained largely unchanged from the eleventh century.[198] Flat metal paddles, bearing designs incised or raised on their inner surfaces, were attached to long-handled tongs that allowed the baker to close the paddles together and heat them, cooking and imprinting the batter inside.[199] Eucharistic wafers made with these tongs often showed a scene of the Crucifixion, perhaps with Saint John and Mary on either side.[200] Eucharistic wafers could also bear textual inscriptions, as short as the three-letter monogram of Christ, as well as complete sentences of as many as some sixty-five characters.[201] Looking at a fifteenth-century

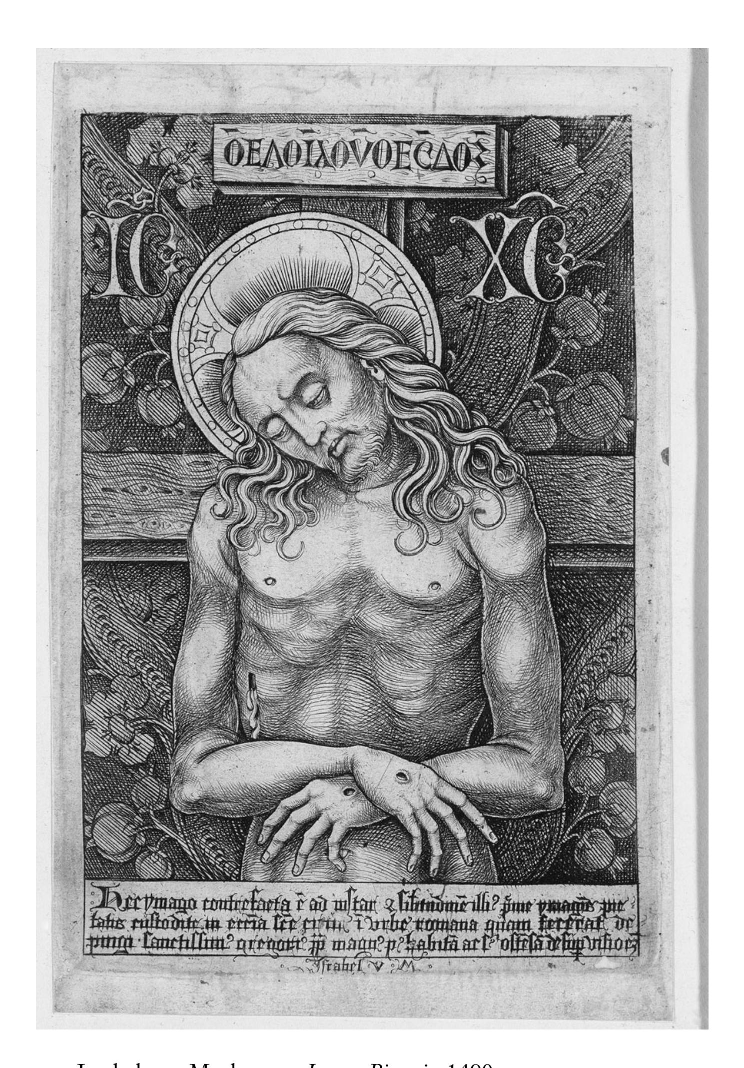


26. Fifteenth-century Eucharist iron, Museu Episcopal de Vic. ©Museu Episcopal de Vic

wafering iron (Fig. 26), and considering the extensive and reversed texts such instruments could bear, one is strongly reminded of the matrices used to print engravings, such as Israhel van Meckenem's *Imago Pietatis* or Balthasar Montcornet's *Schluckbilder* (Figs. 27, 28).

Printing, the act of pressing a receptive support onto a charged matrix, was also analogous to the process by which some relics were created. A primary relic, a material remain (bone or body part) of a saint, could be pressed with another object, such as a piece of cloth; the second object would retain the sacred aura of the first. Pious people unable to travel to a saint's shrine would give personal effects, such as rings or jewels, to pilgrims who would make the journey and touch these objects to the reliquary.[202] The small pieces of silk reverently placed contact with a saint's body known as *brandea* could capture its numinous aura: as Gregory of Tours wrote, upon its removal from the tomb a *brandeum* would be "so full of divine grace that it will be much heavier than before," and Gregory the Great added, "through [*brandea*] miracles occur, as if the saints' bodies were . . . there."[203] At the funeral of Saint Ambrose, bishop of Milan, in 397 CE men and women crowded around the body to throw their handkerchiefs and aprons upon it to capture its sanctity.[204] Thus, placing things into physical contact in an indexical relationship, laying one onto the other, was for centuries before the advent of printing in Europe understood as a means to transform a mundane object into one charged, even to thaumaturgy, by that contact.

The sacred matrix for the preeminent objects of this type in the Christian West was Christ himself. Veronica's veil, or *sudarium*, according to a legend



27. Israhel van Meckenem, *Imago Pietatis*, 1490.
Photo: bpk, Berlin / Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen, Berlin, Germany / Jörg P. Anders / Art Resource, NY

traceable to the early fourteenth century, was the imprint left on when she wiped Christ's face as he carried the cross on the road to Calvary. The almost fifteen feet of stained linen known as the Shroud of Turin bears a faint amber-colored image of the front and back of a figure, which early believers understood to be blood blotted from Christ's body when Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea carried it from Golgotha to the tomb. Both these imprints were seen as a true likeness of Christ, simultaneously a contact relic and an image made without human hands, the type often denoted with the Byzantine term, *acheiropoieton*.[205]

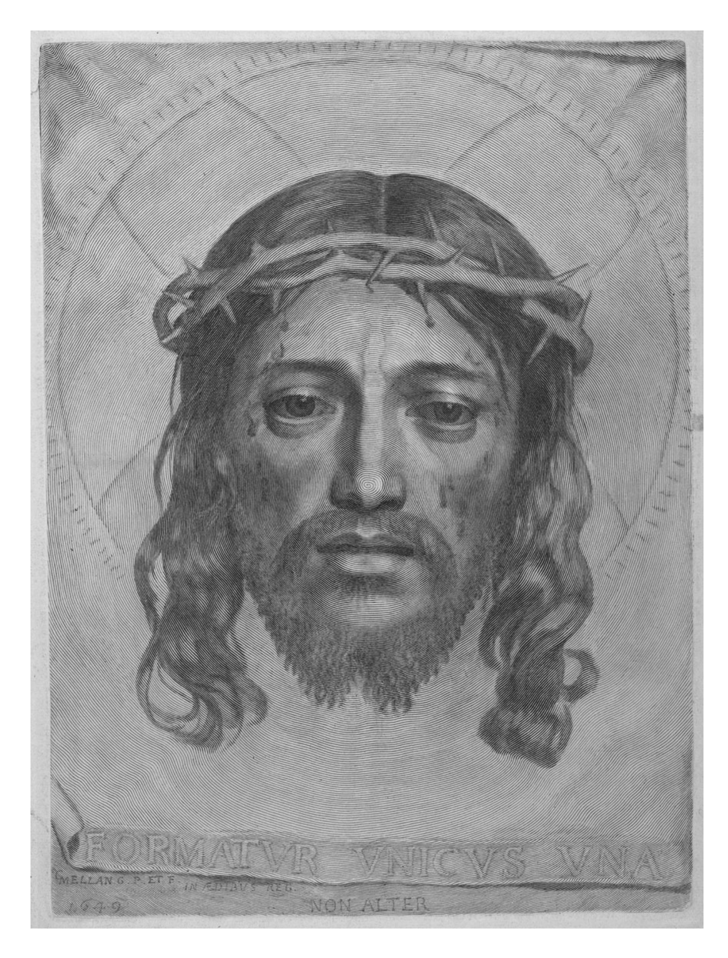
Printed images, made by mechanically pressing a support on a prepared matrix, are, as Christopher Wood recently noted, "literally acheiropoetic," and early modern printmakers sometimes played with the parallels between



28. Balthasar Montcornet(?), *Schluckbilder*, seventeenth century. 13.5 cm × 19.9 cm. Kunstsammlungen der Fürsten zu Waldburg-Wolfegg

Veronica's veil and the products of their own labor.[206] Claude Mellan famously carved a single undulating line that originated at the very tip of Christ's nose and spiraled outwards beyond the edges of the copper printing plate. Toward the bottom of the plate, a corner of the veil flips up, drawing our attention to the fictively woven inscription. That text – FORMATVR VNICVS VNA – is characterized by what Irving Lavin termed "una sublime ambiguità,"[207] slipping between reference to Veronica's veil and reference to the printed sheet itself (Fig. 29). Albrecht Dürer also deeply explored the theme of Veronica's sudarium, most notably in an etching from 1516 (Fig. 30). Distinguished art historians, including Erwin Panofsky, Herbert Kessler, Gerhard Wolf, Christopher Wood, and Jeffrey Hamburger, have devoted much attention to this print and the implications, its interplay between the angel viewing the veil and the beholder viewing the print. Crucial for this crossing of viewpoints is the "blinding opaque light"[208] of the "pushed-back corner [*umgeschlagene Ecke*]"[209] that visually posits an identity between Veronica's imprinted cloth and Dürer's printed paper. As Joseph Koerner wrote:

> Just as the angel appears to pull the Holy Face down from the dark surface of the sky, so too Dürer pulled his image up off the inked and etched plate. . . . Dürer thus fashions the Christian *non manufactum* to mythicize the process and the product of printing.[210]



29. Claude Mellan, *Face of Christ on St. Veronica's Cloth*, 1735. Engraving, 43 cm × 31.5 cm (sheet). The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1969, Metropolitan Museum of Art.
Photo: OASC, metmuseum.org

Viewers also conflated Veronica's sudarium and printed images of it by using both for similar purposes. Indulgences granted for prayers said before the veil of Veronica enshrined in Saint Peter's in Rome could also be granted for reciting the prayers while looking at another image of it, leading to the production of innumerable copies, both in print and other materials, of the Holy Face.[211] As a number of miracle stories demonstrate, this free and seemingly unproblematic substitution of a print for the miracle-working icon to which it explicitly referred also took place with Marian images.[212] In 1485 in Prato, a woman named Mona Lisabetta fell down "as if dead" after seeing an apparition of a woman in white. After more than two days in this state, a printed "Virgin Mary which had touched the Madonna of the Carceri of Prato" was obtained and "they put this paper figure [*figura di charta*] to Mona Lisabetta's mouth and then put it on her." It is not clear whether the print was similar to the one still pasted inside the miracle book itself or a small



30. Albrecht Dürer, *The Sudarium Held by One Angel*, 1516. Etching 18.6 cm × 13.3 cm. Rogers Fund, 1917, Metropolitan Museum of Art.
Photo: OASC, metmuseum.org

round one meant for ingestion, like the later *Esszettel Schlückbilder*.[213] In any case, Mona Lisabetta recovered fully.[214]

This miraculous healing was effected by a print that both depicted the Madonna of the Carceri, an image already known for its numinous power, and had touched it. In other words, like Veronica's sudarium, the print from Prato was both an acheiropoietic image and a contact relic. Likewise small canvas or silk images of the Madonna of the Fire that had touched the icon itself were worn by many Forlivesi in the seventeenth century, and likely before.[215] One aspect of early modern devotional prints, lost to most twenty-first century viewers, is the resonances such prints would have had with other imprinted objects of authority from the period, including the noble seal, the contact relic, and the Eucharistic wafer.[216]

Devotional prints were also similar to secondary relics and Host wafers in their ability to be stamped again and again, to multiply in great numbers

without a loss of functional potency. The idea of a commodity ever increasing to meet any need is rooted in biblical stories, such as the miracle in which Christ and his disciples fed thousands of people with an inadequate supply of bread and fish.[217] Relics, both primary relics and contact relics, also were governed by this generative economy of miraculous reproducibility, becoming ever more numerous, rather than working within a paradigm of a loss of power or the withering of aura with every iteration.[218] In his *Treatise on Relics*, John Calvin derided this economy of seemingly infinite reproducibility. Commenting on the relics of the True Cross, he wrote:

> Large splinters of it are preserved in various places, as for instance in the Holy Chapel at Paris, whilst at Rome they show a crucifix of considerable size made entirely, they say from this wood. In short, if we were to collect all these pieces of the true cross exhibited in various parts, they would form a whole ship's cargo. . . . As an explanation of this, they have invented the tale that whatever quantity of wood may be cut off this true cross, its size never decreases. This is, however, such a clumsy and silly imposture, that the most superstitious may see through it.[219]

Yet the increase in relics denounced by Calvin, and even more, the number of miracles themselves, was defended by Giovanni Felice Astolfi in his 1623 *Universal History of Miraculous Images of the Great Mother of God:*

> If the followers of Luther and Calvin could have just one of the infinite miracles caused by God through Our Lady's grace in order to support their accursed opinions with it, they would claim a most solemn victory. And if we, who have [those miracles] – yes, how we have them! And not one, but many – if we have not conceded to, or recognized, them, is that our fault? . . . Who, having grace, who sees such frequent, certain, and indubious miracles, so clear and evident, so illustrious and eminent, who would not say that these are signs of favor that blessed God makes to the Church?[220]

For Astolfi, the seemingly unending production and reproduction of miracles was nothing less than a sign of divine favor. The seemingly infinite impressions of a print could seem divine as well.

THE SINGULAR MATRIX

There were of course logistical limits on the number of impressions of a print that could be produced, such as wear on the wooden or copper printmaking matrix, and on the men and women who printed them. The carved wood block could chip or crack; the finely engraved or etched grooves of a copper plate would wear from the friction of wiping away printing ink and the pressure of the intaglio press. It is also true that early modern connoisseurs and collectors of

prints were aware of the decline in the quality that comes with printing much-used plates and were willing to pay more for fine early impressions. In 1567, Christopher Plantin, for example, wrote that he had found impressions of Dürer's *St. Eustace*, *St. Jerome*, and *Melancholia* in Antwerp for three guilders for the three, but the price for a very fine impression of the *St. Eustace* alone was as much as six guilders.[221]

Of course, print enthusiasts most often never saw the matrix from which the impression they admired or purchased had been printed. Before printing could take place, the maker of an engraving or etching would manually or chemically indent the surface of the copper matrix with the design to be printed in ink: each active movement of the engraver's burin or etcher's needle would result in a depression in the copper surface that corresponded to the intended image. This procedure of cutting into the matrix gave the name of *intaglio* (literally "cut in" in Italian) to this class of prints. In contrast, for a woodcut the printmaker cut away the negative spaces of a design, removing wood to lower the surfaces around the areas to be printed, which were left intact. The tops of these untouched raised surfaces carry the ink and are pressed into the paper, cloth, or vellum to make the print. Woodcuts, and other prints whose blank areas are made by the laborious removal of the matrix surface, are thus known as relief prints. In intaglio prints, then, the intended image corresponds to the concave surfaces of the matrix, whereas in relief prints, the protuberant surfaces carry the image. Over the working life of a single wooden block or copper plate, hundreds and thousands of impressions would be made.[222] In contrast to these multitudinous impressions, the matrix is singular, prior and most usually absent, unseen by the resulting print's many dispersed viewers. Nonetheless, the fact that the matrix had once been present is ineluctably signaled by the impressions themselves.

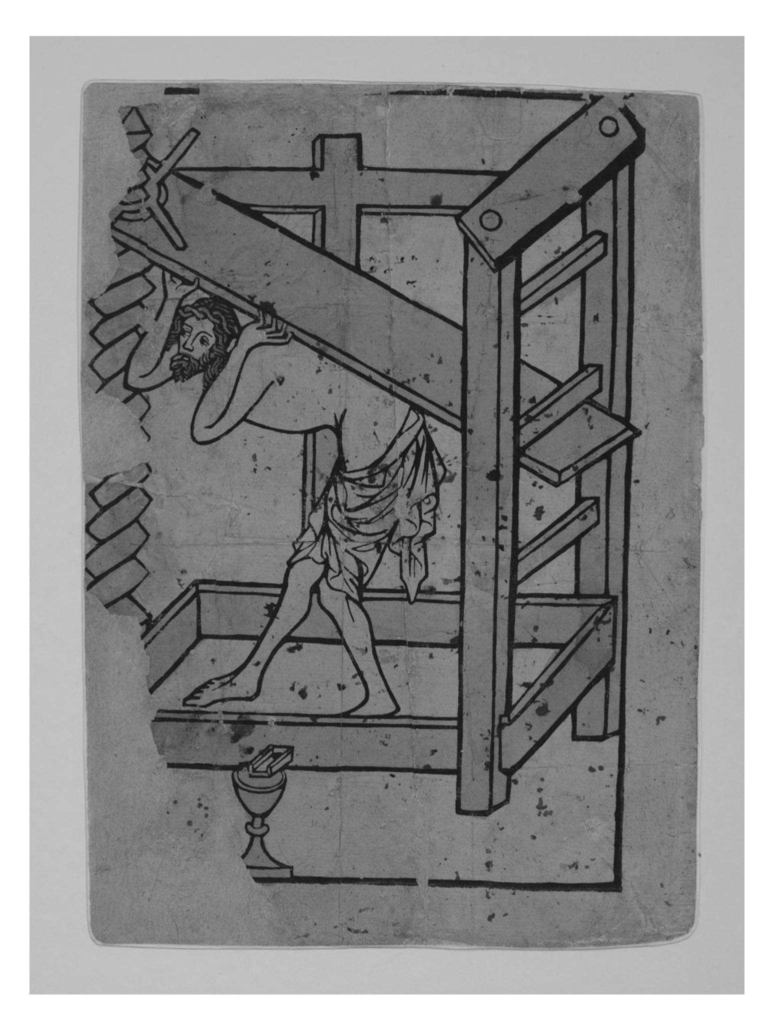
Charles Talbot and more recently Michael Gaudio have emphasized how an intaglio matrix, with its sculptural removal of the matter to be printed in ink, is like an incised seal for imprinting wax. But a seal could bear either an incised image or one carved in relief, and the distinction was not trivial: in a long-lived tradition stemming from the twelfth-century Jewish philosopher Maimonides and revived in seventeenth-century Holland, the wearing of a seal ring was permitted if the image it bore was carved into the seal's surface but prohibited if the image was convex, rising in relief.[223] For a seal ring's image, carved partially in the round so as to rise away from the surrounding excavated surface, could seem so powerful as to be potentially idolatrous, just as the fully round *all'antica* sculptures recently discussed by Alexander Nagel were.[224] By extension to printing matrices, the relief wood block similarly was more powerfully resonant than an intaglio copper plate. And this potency went even beyond the block's convexity: since only the excess wood was actively carved away, the relief matrix's untouched, protuberant image was itself a type of acheiropoieiton, revealed but not made by human hands.



31. Hans Schlaffer of Ulm, *The Sudarium*, 1470–75. Hand-colored woodcut, 28.1 cm × 20.6 cm. Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1941, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Photo: OASC, metmuseum.org

Indeed, Veronica's sudarium and the Shroud of Turin, were imprinted largely from surfaces in relief. As we have seen, early modern engravers avidly explored the theme of Veronica's sudarium, though relief printing more closely parallels the process of staining the veil on the sweating surfaces of Christ's face.[225] A late-fifteenth-century German woodcut, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig. 31),[226] for instance, not only visually conflates the cloth of the veil and the support of the print itself, it evokes the flatness of the textile through the paper's own surface. In laying the dampened sheet of paper on the carved wooden block charged with ink, the printer reenacts Veronica's gesture of blotting the raised contours of Christ's damp face. In Veronica's legend, Christ's face thus served as the relief matrix for the veil.

The relief printer mechanically magnifies the force of Veronica's gesture to imprint the paper, calling to mind the origins of his platen press in the wine press.[227] Depictions of the Eucharistic allegory known as the mystic wine press,



32. South German, *Christ in the Mystic Wine Press*, first quarter of the fifteenth century. Hand-colored woodcut, 289 mm × 204 mm (maximum dimensions of sheet). Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nürnberg.
Photo: Monika Runge

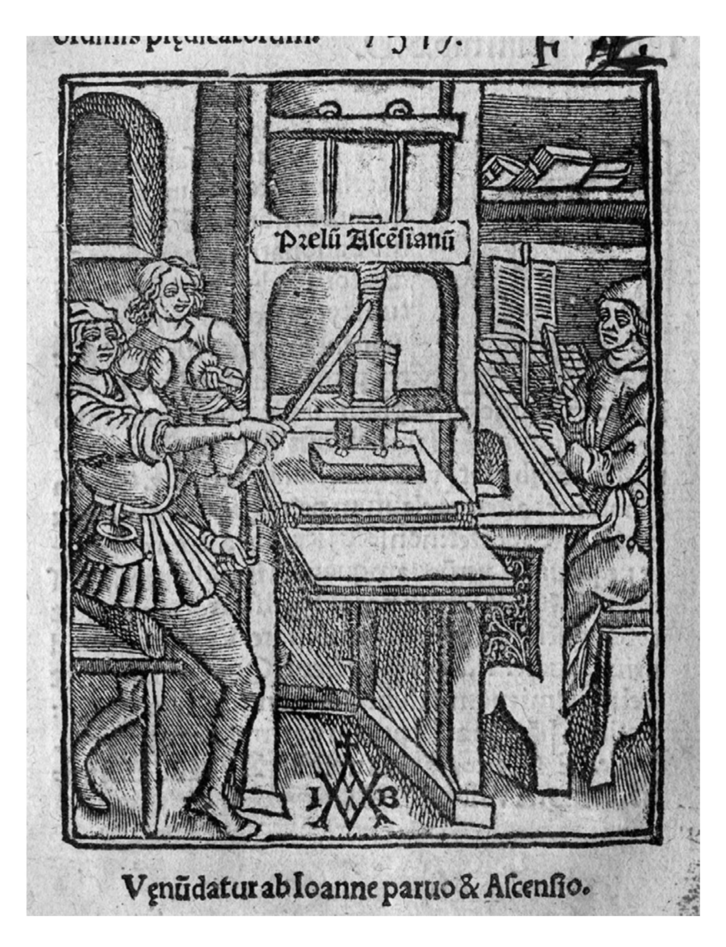
like an early-fifteenth-century woodcut now in Nuremberg (Fig. 32), often show a typical beam press with a screw to drive down the free end of a lever over a flatbed to crush grapes, rather than a platen press for relief printing or a roller press for intaglio printing.[228] In contrast, a late-seventeenth-century marble relief in the Antwerp cathedral signed by Louis Willemssens (1630–1702) shows five putti in a vineyard arrayed around what can only be called a relief printing press, with its characteristic single downward-acting screw, paired uprights and crossbeam.[229] They do not take the stances of those who crown Christ with thorns as is typical of some mystical winepress scenes,[230] but instead one putto pulls manfully at the bar to crush the grapes in a basket below the screw, enacting a scene that is remarkably similar to images of relief printing, such as



33. Louis Willemssens, *Mystic Wine Press*, 1678. Marble. Cathedral, Antwerp, Belgium. Foto Marburg/Art Resource, NY

the one on the early-sixteenth-century device of book publisher Jodocus Badius Ascensius (Figs. 33, 34). Thus, Willemssens's image of the mystic wine press draws together two aspects of Antwerp in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: its status as a flourishing center of book printing anchored by the Plantin-Moretus press first established in 1555 and its return to Roman Catholic authority in 1585 after the Protestant iconoclasm there two decades before.

Like the image on Veronica's sudarium, the pale reddish stains that form the ventral and dorsal figures on the Shroud of Turin also can be understood largely in terms of relief printing. Georges Didi-Huberman memorably enumerated the fabric's formless discolorations as flowing blood, serum, or semen, and acutely noted that since Secondo Pia photographed the Shroud in 1894 and saw the ghostly negative image of Christ's face, pale against a dark background, as he developed the film in his darkroom, photographic metaphors have dominated how the Shroud has been discussed.[231] Yet the Shroud's early modern viewers, attending its public ostensions in Chambéry before 1578 or in Turin after that year could not have dwelt on the non-figural stains of bodily emissions from deep within the corpse that become conspicuous in Secondo Pia's photographic negatives. Rather, these early viewers would have strained to discern the figure, which they understood as imprinting in relief, faded traces of blood and sweat blotted from the front and back external surfaces of Christ's body.[232] And they would have had to strain, since that pale image – made fully manifest in early modern prints of the Shroud[233] – was suspended between visibility and invisibility, as the



34. Jodocus Badius Ascenius publisher's device. Woodcut. Bridwell Library Special Collections, Perkins School of Theology, Southern Methodist University

matrix of Christ's body itself was caught between implied presence and actual absence. As Didi-Huberman wrote:

> There is finally, in this game of near and far, the ubiquitous presence of the Christly body, which is in the shroud, there without being there, doubly absent, as dead body and body brought back to life, and present in the terrible signs of its Passion.[234]

The figural stain on the Shroud of Turin, then, was an index of Christ's suffering, an impression from the relief matrix of his bloodied body.

The Latin term *matrix* and its vernacular cognates had a broad semantic range during the Renaissance. In his 1541 Latin poem in praise of printing, Johannes Arnold used "matrix" to describe the surfaces from which books were printed and the molds from which movable type was cast.[235] Renaissance bronze casters likewise called the casting mold they used a matrix.[236]

Paracelsus, in his 1530 text on human reproduction, *Liber de Matrice*, used the term for "womb," and also more generally to denote source, origin, or cause:

> Now there are three kinds of matrix: the first is the water on which the spirit of the Lord was borne, and this was the matrix in which heaven and earth were created. Then heaven and earth became a matrix, in which Adam was formed by the hand of God. Then woman was created out of man; she is the matrix of all men until the end of the world."[237]

This trifold definition allows Paracelsus to make analogies between the maternal womb and the cosmos, as when he declares, "The child in the womb [*matrix*] lives in the maternal firmament that expresses the external firmament [*firmament matris, das außerhalb in dem eußern firmament*]. Thus is the womb [*matrix*] a small world that contains within it all kinds of heaven and earth."[238]

The term *matrix* also had wide usage in a Christian context. Tertullian (d. ca. 220) used the word in his description of the unity of Christ and God the Father:

> The material matrix [*materiae matrix*] remains entire and unimpaired, though you derive from it any number of shoots possessed of its qualities; so, too, that which has come forth out of God is at once God and the Son of God, and the two are one.[239]

In this passage, Tertullian characterizes the *materiae matrix* as capable of generating multiples that remain the same, "at once God and the Son of God." This sense of potent multiplicity is also present in the term "ecclesia matrix" or "mother church," used to denote a cathedral "that gives form and example to other [churches]."[240]

The quintessential mother-exemplar was of course the Virgin Mary, who served as a fundamental model for Christian men and women.[241] Saint Francis de Sales (1567–1622) summarized a long tradition when he said Mary was the "mirror and summary of Christian perfection which we ought to imitate."[242] Mary was an exceptional holy personage: beyond her unique roles as Mother of God and Bearer of Christ, the assumption of her corporal body into heaven meant that she, unlike most saints, left no primary relics on earth.[243] As a result, not only her secondary relics – her milk and garments, especially the girdle she gave to Saint Thomas – became even more important, but images of her did as well. Richard Trexler proposed that in the act of supplication "a practical identity existed between Mary and image. . . . Mary was the dynamic repository of power. She was where her image was being worshipped."[244] Robert Maniura further emphasizes practice, describing supplication as a ritual performance intended to persuade a poignantly absent Mary to act on the supplicant's behalf by addressing a locally present image.[245] This is not to suggest that the Madonna resided fully in a single holy object or image but rather that a pious

community engaged in ritual action could productively focus their devotions on a favored icon of her in a given locale. As Maniura wrote about Marian devotion in Prato, “the Virgin of the Carceri is as much a place and a devotion as a picture.”[246] Likewise, Jane Garnett and Gervase Rosser suggest that it is “helpful to think of a cult image having a zone in which it is current, its perceived meanings to its devotees being indicated, but never entirely contained, by a variety of visual and verbal languages.”[247] Even if her body had been assumed into heaven, Mary was both here and everywhere: like the mother-church or the printing matrix, she was the absent, singular model that generates multiple manifestations.[248]

RIGHT-LEFT REVERSAL

There is another salient aspect to printing and imprinting: the pressing of the printmaking matrix onto a sheet of paper (or some other support) affects the orientation of the printed image. Just a right hand inked on the palm will produce a handprint with the thumb on the left, a matrix bearing for instance an image of a profile with the nose pointing in one direction will produce impressions with it facing in the opposite direction. Certain actions, such as blessing, playing a musical instrument, or holding a sword, typically are performed with a particular hand, but sixteenth- and seventeenth-century prints depicting these actions did not always correct for the reversal in orientation that takes place in the transfer of ink from matrix to support. In a recent essay, Christine Vogt explored the issue of left-right reversals in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century prints through an examination of the depicted subject matter and related compositions in paint and print. She concludes that no general statements about the orientation of images in print can be made, noting that “the sixteenth century seems in general to have a different and less dogmatic outlook toward left-right orientation” than we have today.[249] It seems likely that in the sixteenth century there may not have been a sense that one orientation was correct and the other incorrect as we tend to do today, and early modern viewers may even have appreciated the fluid play in the left-right orientation of printed images.

Indeed, at times an artist, such as the sixteenth-century Netherlandish printmaker and metal engraver, Lambert Suavius, would embrace the reversal of left and right that occurs when printing.[250] In 1559, he produced an engraved silver medal, with the year and the words PACIS ET CONCORDIÆ FOELICE SÆCVLO RENATA NVMINA [THE SPIRITS OF PEACE AND HARMONY ARE REBORN IN THIS HAPPY AGE] engraved around the rim.[251] Around that same time, Suavius was engaged in making a series of portraits of the Schetus family, distinguished members of the Antwerp elite. His printed portrait of Melchior Schetus, treasurer general of the Netherlands,[252] (Fig. 35) shows



35. Lambert Suavius III, *Portrait of Melchior Schetus*, 1554(?). Engraving, 83 mm diameter. © Trustees of the British Museum

many similarities to the medal of peace, including the Latin inscription around the rim, the three-quarters positioning of the bust, and the breaking of the inscription band by the figure. This printed roundel is cut out and mounted on paper; the reversal of the inscription suggests that its now-lost matrix was in fact a medal similar to Suavius's 1559 peace medal.

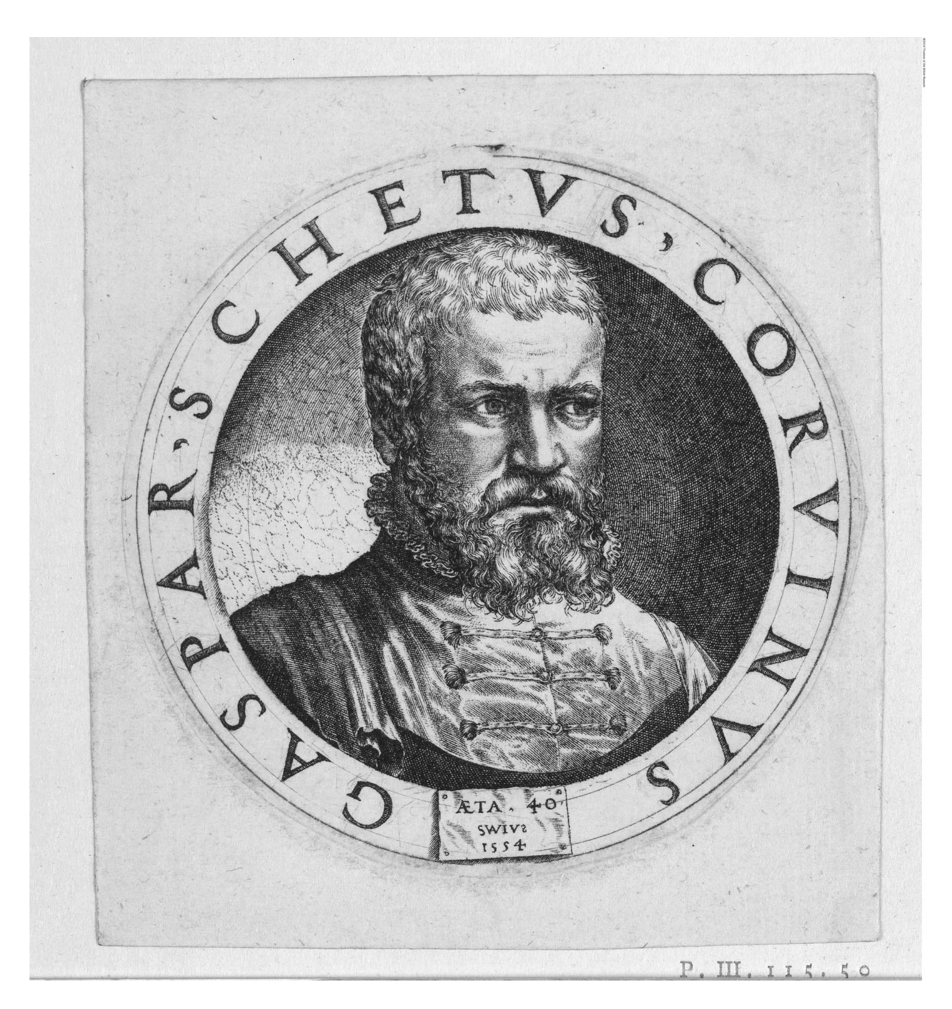
Yet, the portraits of Melchior's brothers, Balthazar and Gaspar, seem meant to be printed: the inscriptions that encircle their images print in the correct orientation (Figs. 36 and 37). In all three portraits, Suavius plays with the idea of reversal in each of the small inscriptions underneath the portrait busts. In Melchior's portrait (Fig. 35), a small cartellino bears the name of the sitter, his age, and the artist's signature, like the main inscription, all in reverse; one corner of the fictive slip of paper is shown escaping a nail, curling down to



36. Lambert Suavius III, *Portrait of Balthasar Schetus*, 1561. Engraving, 85 mm diameter.

expose its verso. At the bottom of Balthazar's roundel (Fig. 36), Suavius's name is engraved in small dark letters that contrast with the main inscription in both size and shading. Although the large, open printed letters appear in the correct orientation, the initial and final *s*'s in "Suavius" are reversed, and we suddenly notice that the other letters in the engraver's name – *A*, *V*, and *I* – look the same in either orientation. In Gaspar's portrait (Fig. 37), the artist plays with this reversibility, contracting the first two *v*'s and the *a* between them and reversing the final *S* to make a near-perfect visual palindrome – the left and right halves of the name are quasi mirror images. In these portraits of the three Schetus brothers, then, Suavius plays with the themes of recto and verso, of left and right, and of matrix and impression. Attuned viewers of these prints must surely have seen and relished Suavius's virtuosic reversals.

Images of Christ made without human hands could also sensitize early modern viewers to the left-right reversals of imprinting. Alphonsus Paleotti,



37. Lambert Suavius III, *Portrait of Gaspar Schetus*, 1554. Engraving, 87 mm diameter. © Trustees of the British Museum

writing about the Shroud of Turin in 1607, explained that the lance wound appeared on the left side of the image on the shroud because it had been inflicted on the right side of Christ's body and was "imprinted face-to-face with its model."[253] The nineteenth-century commentator on the Shroud, Lazzaro Giuseppe Piano, was even more explicit, stating that the position of the lance wound on the cloth was reversed, "just as happens in a mirror image, or in an image printed onto paper from a copper plate, or from a seal in wax."[254] Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century prints depicting the image on the Shroud with Christ's five stigmata generally showed the lance wound on its left side and at times also gave indications of the Shroud's physical measurements.[255]

As Michael Baxandall demonstrated, the fifteenth-century Florentine "church-going dancing trader" understood perspectival painting through

period practices, such as barrel gauging and the rhythmic movements of the *bassa danza*.[256] Likewise, fifteenth-, sixteenth-, and seventeenth-century viewers of prints would have been informed by long-standing and flourishing traditions of molding secular and Eucharistic wafers, of imprinting seals into wax, and of revering acheiropoieta such as the Turin Shroud and *brandea* made by laying cloths on sacred relics. Many of these viewers believed they were protected from harm by small Marian images that had been touched to an icon and worn on their bodies.[257] Artistic practices for the transfer of images also at times involved the laying of a receptive surface against its model: Horst Appuhn suggested that a fifteenth-century woodcut of *Mary Nursing the Christ Child* was made from a tracing or other direct transfer from a painting from the workshop of Conrad von Soest, now in Dortmund, because the print and painting are the same size, though reversed left to right one from the other.[258]

Whether or not Appuhn overstated the print's production from a single painting, as David Areford argued, the early viewers of this woodcut could have imagined the print as an image made by pressing the paper to the painted icon.[259] A print rather than a painting, after all, can be seen not just as a reversed reflection but also an indexical imprint like a *brandea*, made by pressing a charged matrix against a receptive surface. The print derived from von Soest is an example of what Christopher Wood called "transferable indexicality": the understanding, held by some early viewers, that the pressing of a print's support to its copper plate or wooden block was direct contact between the print itself and what it depicted.[260] As David Areford pointed out, a print's functional success "often depends less on an iconic connection and more on a level of simulation that implies an indexical relationship between the woodcut and the object it depicts."[261] Fifteenth-century prints functioned in a manner similar to the fifteenth-century corporal cloth (ritually placed under the consecrated items on the altar) recently discussed by Jeffrey Hamburger: held against the embroidered image of Veronica's veil on its box's inner lid during storage, when lifted from the box by the priest for the mass, "the corporal becomes the veil, much as the wafer becomes the body of Christ."[262] Fifteenth-century prints are also similar to the late-fourteenth-century wax impressions from seals that indexed more than simply the seals themselves: as Brigitte Bedos-Rezak wrote, they "operated on a triangular axis: from the seal user to the imprint to be sure, but also via a supernatural referentiality which sanctioned seal agency."[263]

When the printing or sealing matrix depicted the Virgin Mary, longstanding Marian metaphors further charged the processes of imprinting. In 1310, Bishop Teobaldo of Assisi recounted Saint Francis's declaration that he needed no notarized document beyond the Pope's word, for in that case "the blessed Virgin Mary is the paper, Christ is the notary, and the angels, the witnesses."[264] Saint Francis of Sales (d. 1622) described Mary as the matrix for the Eucharist "because the precious body of the Savior which is in the very holy sacrament of

the altar, was made and formed in her chaste womb."[265] Giuliano Bezzi's description of the Madonna of the Fire as possibly "the first print that came from its first Maker, just as the Virgin was the first to come from the hands of the Maker of all," resonates richly with these earlier metaphors, as do those of Bartolommeo Ricceupti, his fellow seventeenth-century devotee of the Madonna of the Fire.[266]

As we saw in the last chapter, the Madonna of the Fire's central figures of Mary and Jesus exist in a separate reality – or Sven Sandström's term, a different "level of unreality"[267] – than the framing figures and scenes on the sheet. The woodcut engages in a "play of references to reality" [*Spiel der Realitätsbezüge*] – to use Gerhard Wolf's term discussed at this chapter's opening – by pictorially distinguishing the central image from the subsidiary scenes and figures in a number of ways: the larger scale, more archaic style, and more abstract rendering of the central icon of Madonna and Child. One other major formal difference exists: the carver of the woodblock ensured that the scenes and figures at the print's margins all followed conventional rules of orientation in Mary and Gabriele's relative positions, or the text on John the Baptist's banderole, or Paul's sword hand. Yet the relative positions of Jesus and Mary at the heart of the Madonna of the Fire reverse the more usual composition in which the Madonna bears the Christ child on her left arm, to the viewer's right.

The orientation taken by the central figures in the Madonna of the Fire, with the Virgin on the viewer's right side and Christ on the viewer's left, is noteworthy in Marian icons before the fifteenth century but certainly not unheard of: it appears in the Byzantine mosaics of Hosios Lukos in Greece, for example, and, on the Italian peninsula, in the much-repainted icon of Santa Maria Nova in the Roman church of Saint Francesca Romana and in the oeuvre of Agnolo Gaddi.[268] Still, given the adherence to commonplace expectations as to right-left placement in the framing parts of the print, the reversal of the usual orientation at the center of the print is striking. To a viewer attuned to the transferable indexicality described by Wood and Areford, this mirroring of the usual orientation signals not only that this part of the picture is the reversed imprint of a woodblock carved with the Madonna holding the Child on her left arm. To this attuned viewer – though certainly not to all viewers – the very center of that convex carved block could be a Marian matrix in all senses of the word, from the wooden surface for printmaking to the Mother of God herself. For the picture of Mary and Jesus at the heart of the Madonna of the Fire visually performs the symbolic fiction that it – but not its framing scenes – was made by being pressed against an earlier manifestation of Mary, reversing its features as an imprint.

A bronze seal from late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century Italy, now in the Bargello Museum (Fig. 38), can help us to visualize how that symbolic Mary-matrix, now absent, mirrors the image at the center of the Madonna of the Fire.[269] Rhomboidal in shape, the small seal bears an inscription around its rim indicating that it had belonged to the confraternity of Santa Maria di

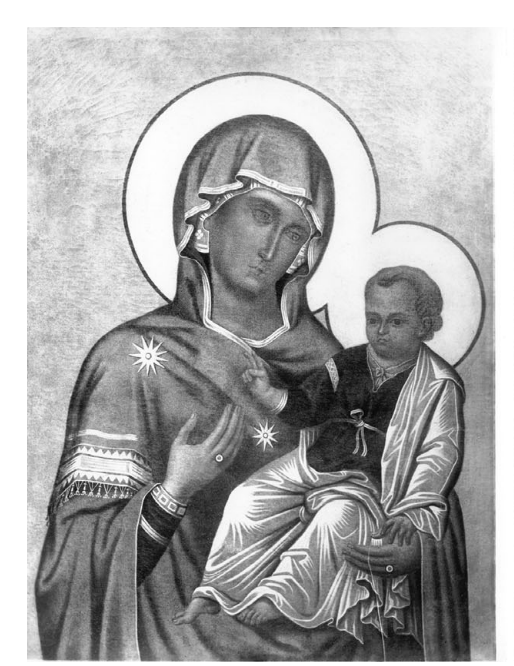


38. Bronze seal for the confraternity of Santa Maria di Gerusalemme in San Lorenzo, Naples. Late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. 41 mm × 40 mm. Museo del Bargello, Florence

Gerusalemme in San Lorenzo, Naples. The sealing surface is deeply incised with an image of a seated Madonna and Child, with Mary holding the Christ child in her right arm (to the viewer's left), her head inclined and left hand pointing toward Jesus in a manner similar to the Madonna of the Fire. The seal would have been used to imprint hot wax in order to close a letter or authenticate a document; these wax impressions would show Mary holding her Child in her left arm in a mirror image of the composition on the bronze sealing surface. The Madonna of the Fire, like wax imprints from the Bargello seal, is the mirror image of its own matrix, one that would show Jesus held by Mary's right arm – that is, one identical in orientation to Hodegtria-type Madonnas such as the Madonna del Popolo in Rome (Figs. 14, 39).

A comparison of the central figures in the Madonna of the Fire and the Madonna del Popolo in Rome (already discussed as a Hodegetria variant in the previous chapter) shows the reversal (Fig. 39). Mary is on the left side of the Roman painting and on the right side of the Forlì print; Christ sits on his mother's left arm in the former and on her right arm in the latter. In both pictures, the Madonna tilts her head toward Jesus, who lifts his arm closest to her. In the Madonna del Popolo, this gesture is one of blessing; in the Madonna of the Fire, it becomes a reach to his mother's collar. Christ's right hand and Mary's right one caught in an indeterminate pose (which as we saw in the previous chapter Lionello Venturi discussed as incompetent), full of potentiality and caught in the act of moving out of the intertwined position of a Hodegetria type, such as the Madonna del Popolo of Rome.

This is not to suggest that all viewers of the Madonna of the Fire always saw it as the reversed impression taken from a remote mother-matrix that was at the same time literally a carved wooden printing block, and more metaphorically a




39. *Left:* Madonna del Popolo (Fig. 13). *Right:* Forlì's Madonna of the Fire (Color Plate I)

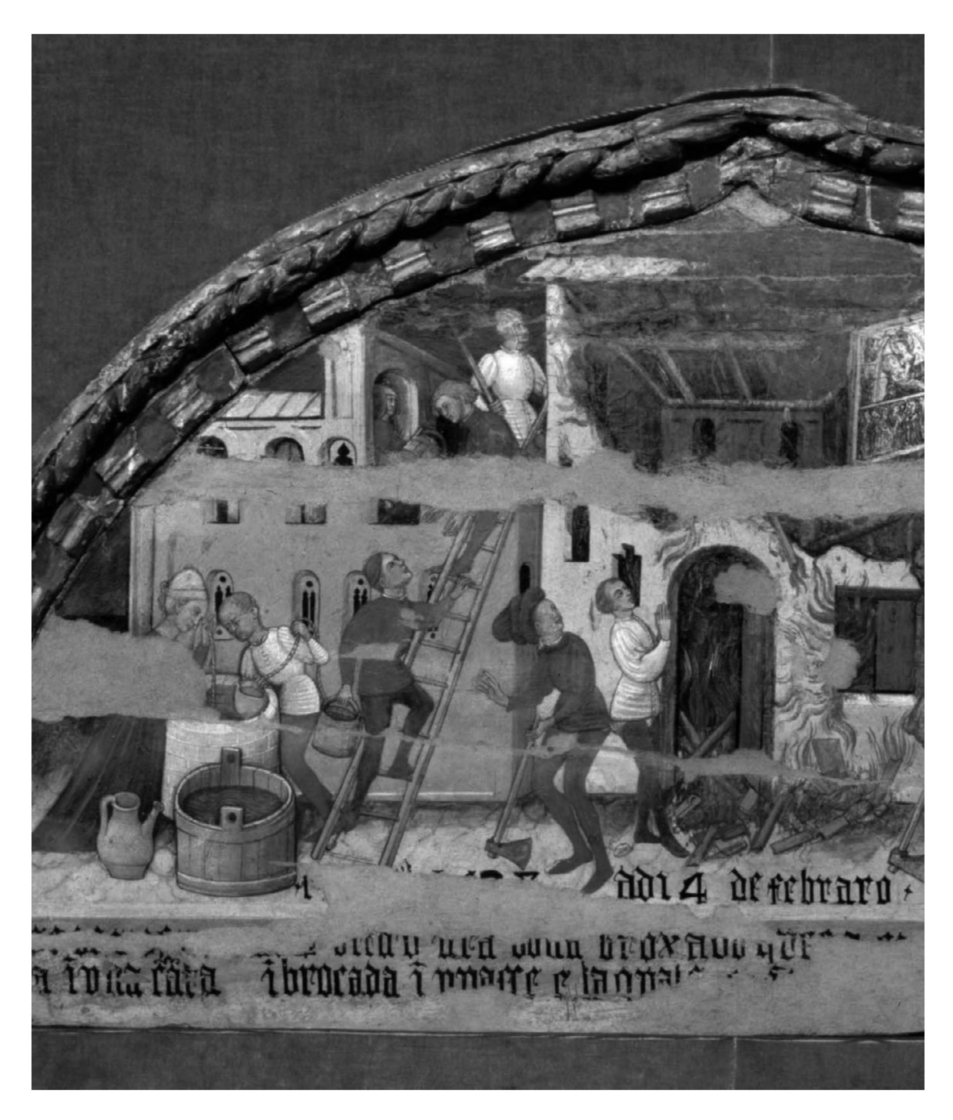
Hodegetria-type image of Mary. That clearly cannot be the case, any more than the suggestion that the fifteenth-century Florentine viewers discussed by Michael Baxandall always and only looked at Paolo Uccello's *Battle of San Romano* with the same period eye with which they estimated the amount of drygoods they bought and sold.[270] Nonetheless, some Florentine viewers certainly did at times bring their mercantile skill at visually guessing volumes to bear on Uccello's painting, and Baxandall's call for art historians to draw on a broader range of period practices including mercantile barrel-gauging in their interpretations of pictures is salutary. In a similar vein, given what Robert Maniura called "the poignant absence of the physical prototype" that required devotees of the Virgin Mary to exert "an extra degree of devotional creativity,"[271] it seems worthwhile to suggest that some sensitive viewers of the Madonna of the Fire could have considered its absent matrix, fecund without human intervention, as the wooden block from which it was imprinted, and at times, even as something greater.

With this suggestion, I offer a supplemental interpretation of early modern prints. Industriously gathered by or ingeniously marketed to makers of manuscript books, prints were indeed paired with secular and religious texts, at times transforming the meaning we might ascribe to the images on their own. Period viewers did actively add or subtract details to their prints by hand coloring or by cutting and pasting, with patent disregard for both their makers' original

compositions and any preference we might have for pristine printed images. Prints in this period were demonstrations of artistic skill and providers of consistent information to a large and dispersed audience. At the same time, we can recognize that printmaking paralleled important material practices through which authority was transferred and displayed in the period: the making of contact relics, the impressing of wax seals, and the imprinting of Eucharistic wafers. Furthermore, if the medium of painting was sanctified as the one chosen by Saint Luke for his portrait of the Virgin, then printmaking could likewise be especially suitable for depicting the Madonna. For the term *matrix* could signal many charged and productive but remote entities, including the poignantly “absent saint,”[272] Mary herself.

PART TWO

EMPLACEMENT



Giovanni di Mastro Pedrino, *Miracle of the Fire*, detail of Color Plate III

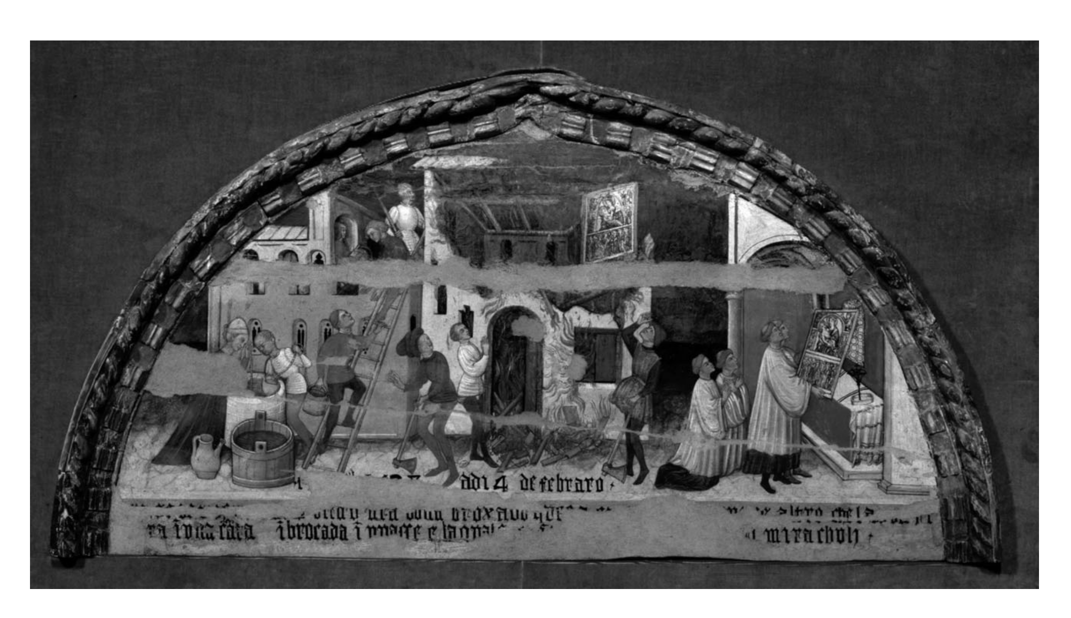
CHAPTER THREE

MIRACLE: THE FIRE OF FEBRUARY 4, 1428

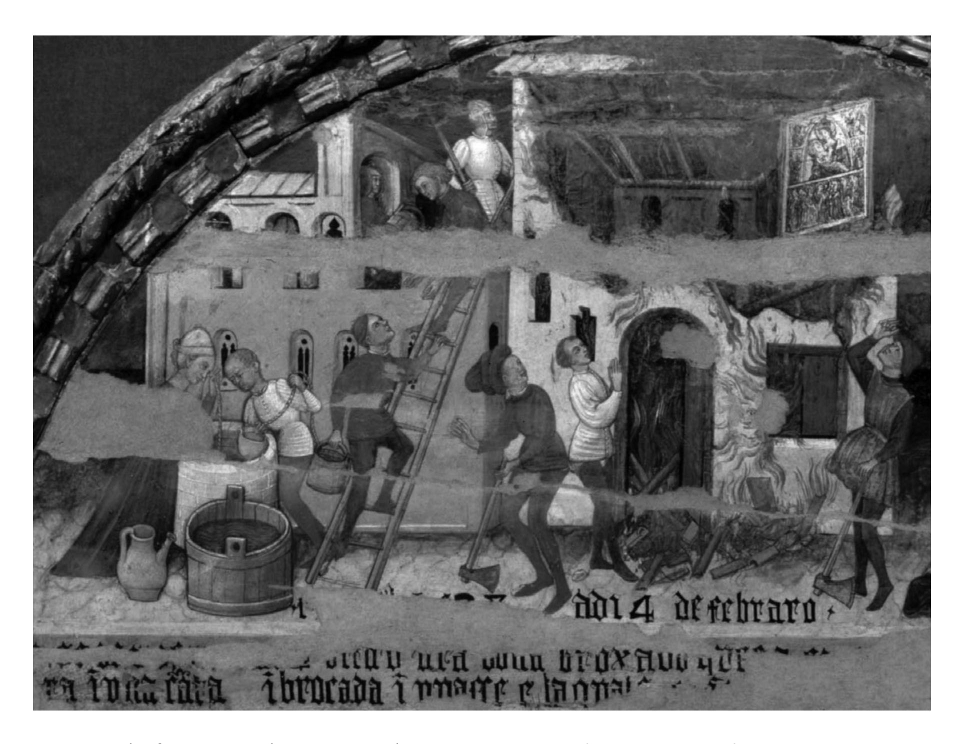
On February 4, 1428, a fire broke out near the cathedral of Forlì, in the small house where a schoolmaster named Lombardino da Ripetrosa lived and taught his students. That night, the Forlivese chronicler and painter Giovanni di Maestro Pedrino tells us, the schoolmaster's house burned down, so that

> nothing remained but the walls and a paper with some figures and Our Lady in the middle. And because this seemed a great miracle, it was taken by the officials [of the cathedral] of Santa Croce, and carried into Santa Croce with great reverence: and it makes many miracles.[273]

A mid-fifteenth-century painting (Plate III, Fig. 40) attributed to Giovanni di Pedrino himself depicts this event.[274] On the left, a woman and two men gather at a well to collect water and, scaling a ladder, bring it to Lombardino's burning house, while in the center, firefighters halt their efforts in amazement at the sight of the image of the Madonna hovering under the ruined roof beams. At the right, the miraculous image is carried into and venerated within a space marked as ecclesiastical by the altar it contains. The panel, once part of the first altarpiece for the Madonna of the Fire, thus narrates an arc of events culminating in the enshrinement of a new cult image, the result of the collective civic recognition of the miracle pictured at center. The inscription at the bottom of the panel sums up the pictured actions: "This took place on 1428 on the fourth of February. Here it is shown how, through the virtue of Our Lady, this house burned and nothing remained of it except her figure [*la sua figura*] on a paper tacked to a plank, and it is in this chapel, and it makes many miracles."[275]



Color Plate III. Giovanni di Mastro Pedrino, *The Miracle of the Madonna of the Fire*, ca. 1450–60. Tempera on panel. 71 cm × 135 cm. Tesoro, Santa Croce, Forlì.
Photo: Liverani



40. Detail of Giovanni di Mastro Pedrino, *The Miracle of the Madonna of the Fire* (Color Plate III)

Giovanni di Maestro Pedrino's painting serves to orient this central section of my book, with one chapter devoted to each of its three carefully depicted aspects of the miracle of February 4, 1428. This chapter explores fire's disastrous as well as miracle-generating effects; Chapter 4 examines the devotional activities that took place in the Renaissance home in general, and the schoolhouse of Lombardino da Ripetrosa and the church completed in 1819 on its site in particular; and Chapter 5 looks at its enshrinement in Forlì's Cathedral of Santa Croce, eventually in the new chapel dedicated in 1636 to the Madonna of the Fire itself. Yet Giovanni di Mastro Pedrino's painting goes beyond only depicting the transfer, precipitated by the 1428 blaze, of the Madonna of the Fire from domestic house to consecrated church. This painting served as the crowning lunette for the first altarpiece that honored the Madonna of the Fire soon after it entered the cathedral, and so was part of the early material enshrinement of the Madonna of the Fire there.[276] Thus, Giovanni di Mastro Pedrino's painting is fundamental in understanding the processes that set the Madonna of the Fire into place – geographically, institutionally, and socially – as a miraculous image in the cathedral and as the heavenly patroness of Forlì.[277]

The story of the miracle, which Giovanni di Mastro Pedrino gave both in text and in painting, describes this transformation of the ordinary into the extraordinary. As the setting moves from the schoolteacher's house to the city's cathedral, a printed image that served as a prompt for daily devotions is changed into a miraculously incombustible and miracle-working icon that eventually commanded its own altar and chapel in the cathedral. The force behind this transition was the fire, and fire was, for Giovanni di Mastro Pedrino's audience, resonant with many associations: a utilitarian part of daily life used for the basic necessities of heating and cooking; a source of energy used creatively by artisans working in clay, glass, and metal; and a destructive yet potentially purifying, even sacralizing, element.[278] To comprehend the miracle of the Madonna of the Fire more fully, we need to begin by exploring these overlapping associations, since the fire of February 4, 1428 was on the one hand, a quickly contained and rather minor outbreak in a fifteenth-century city, and on the other, a completely extraordinary event. The fire both signaled the woodcut's miraculous nature, prompting its removal from the schoolhouse and enshrinement in the cathedral, and it marked the eventual site of another consecrated space, the Church of the Miracle – just as snowfall had, according to legend, marked the site of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome.[279]

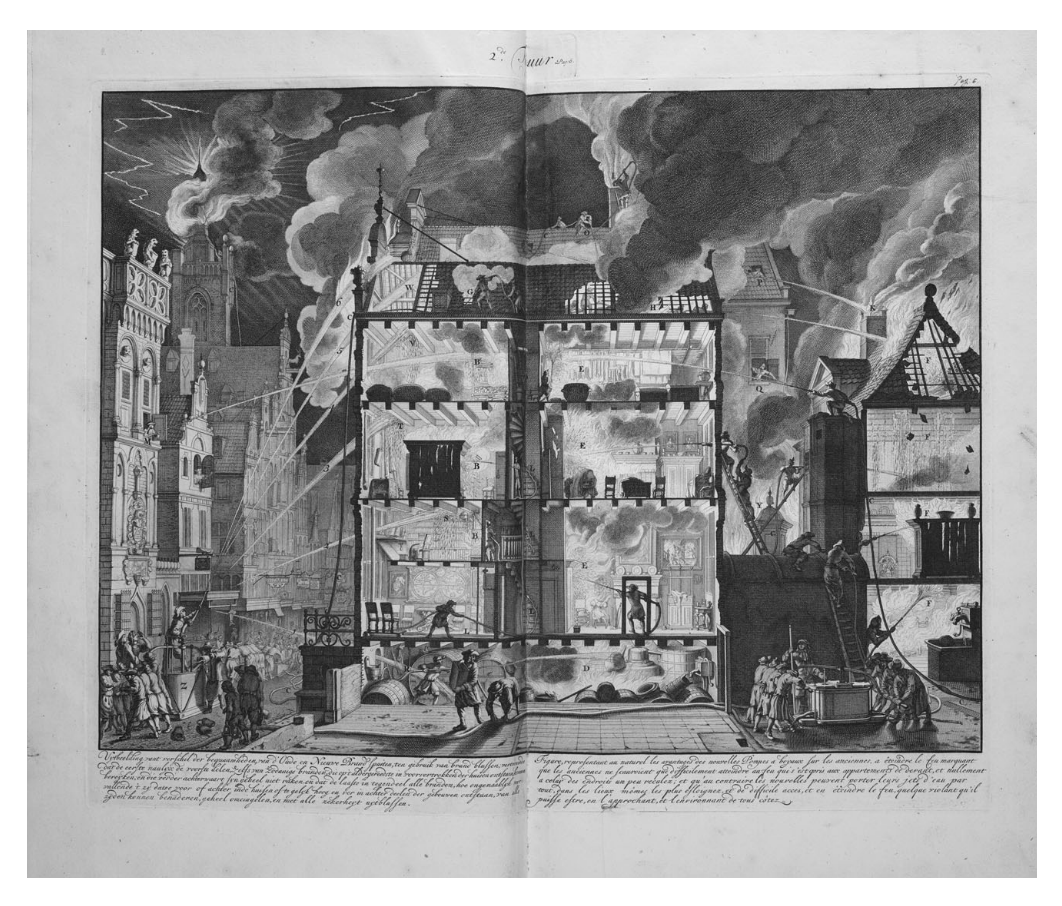
FIRE IN THE CITY

Giovanni di Pedrino's painted lunette offers insight into fifteenth-century civic responses to fire in Forlì. The two-story structure of Lombardino's house dominates the center of the painting: the pink facade demolished both by the

flames spilling out of its interior and by the firefighters who had opened a way into the burning building with their axes (Plate III, Fig. 40). The fallen facade allows a view into the second floor, where the back and side walls still support a few forlorn timbers from the ruined roof. The picture was damaged in World War II, with paint losses cutting across the image of the house and rendering the inscription incomplete.[280] Yet it is clear from the even lighting and lack of shadows, that in this work, Giovanni di Pedrino is not interested in creating the type of virtuoso painting of fiery night scenes, full of fugitive light effects, that was lauded by both classical and Renaissance authors.[281] Rather, Giovanni di Pedrino works toward a legible depiction of a community as it works together to extinguish a threatening fire, before collectively recognizing and acknowledging the miracle at hand. At the left side of the lunette, the painter carefully shows a man and woman gathering water from a well, a wooden tub, and a jug to supply the bucket brigade of men climbing a ladder to the upper story of the adjoining building.

A late-seventeenth-century book by Amsterdam's fire master general, Jan van der Heyden, elaborates on the methods of firefighting depicted in this painting, from the bucket brigade up the ladder carefully set against an adjacent building, to the tools wielded. Van der Heyden writes, "The leather buckets and the ladders along which they are handed up to the roofs and upper parts of houses are the oldest and most common fire fighting tools, and they are found almost everywhere in great numbers."[282] Bucket brigades brought water from a plentiful source to the site of the fire, ideally as one row of people passed vessels full of water, and a second row returned empty ones. Ladders were set up, not on the burning building itself, which might collapse at any moment, but on adjacent structures, in order to protect them from encroaching flames and to gain a high vantage point from which to throw buckets of water, handed one at a time up the ladder, onto the fire.[283] Firefighters also commonly used fire hooks and hatchets, such as the ones depicted in the painting, to break down walls and windows to provide access to the flames.

Forlì was typical in charging its carpenters, builders, and barrel porters with extinguishing blazes that broke out in the city,[284] for in medieval and early modern Italy, designated first responders to outbreaks of fire were usually members of a trade guild, generally those with relevant skills and tools. Builders in wood and stone, who understood how to open up the walls and ceilings of burning structures and how to take down nearby buildings to create firebreaks, were charged with controlling and extinguishing fires in many cities, including Florence, Lucca, and Montepulciano.[285] The records of the fourteenth-century Florentine Fire Office document the firefighters' equipment, and indeed tools used in the building trades, such as ladders, axes, and pulleys with their ropes; buckets or hods were also mentioned, as well as vessels of various sizes and shapes for carrying and directing water.[286] Bucket brigades of men and women (in Ravenna, the prostitutes were specifically called to this task) were



41. Jan van der Heyden, View into a burning house, Fig. 2 in Jan van der Heyden, Beschryving der nieuwlijks uitgevonden en geoctrojeerde slang-brand-spuiten (Amsterdam: Jan Rieuwertsz, 1690). Photo: Getty Research Institute

instrumental in bringing water from communal sources, such as the well shown on the left side of Giovanni di Pedrino's painting, to the site of the fire.[287]

The situation in Jan van der Heyden's Amsterdam was quite different. By 1690, when he first published his book, the city's newly professionalized firefighters could utilize two different types of water pumps to extinguish fires, and an etching of a disastrous fire, which is included in his book, highlights and contrasts their capabilities (Fig. 41).[288] As in Giovanni di Pedrino's painting, van der Heyden's print features a burning building in the center of the composition. In this case, the building is larger than Lombardino's schoolhouse, with three full stories, an attic and a basement joined by a spiral staircase in the center of the structure. The side of the main house facing the picture plane is not represented, allowing unimpeded view into a cask-filled basement, a front hall or *voorhuis* with a wall-sized mappamundi adorning the back wall and a book-filled mezzanine study, and a third-floor attic lined with drying linens. The etcher has taken pains to include detailed depictions of many household

furnishings, including a pair of oval pendant portraits in an upstairs room and, prophetically, a painting of Aeneas and his family fleeing from burning Troy in the reception hall, or *zaal*, almost engulfed by flames on the first floor.[289] The various parts of the house – the rooms closest to the street, the staircase, the rooms at the back of the house, and so forth are labeled with letters (B, L, and E respectively); these letters are keyed to parts in the text in which the relative difficulty of extinguishing fires in these parts of the house are discussed.

The cutaway view into the house, the alphabetic labels inserted into the picture, and the matching, keyed written passages all work to give van der Heyden's text and image maximum clarity. Van der Heyden is describing the various techniques of firefighting and arguing for the superior abilities of the new water pump he had invented in 1672. In his etching, firefighters are armed with the two different types of water pumps available at the time: on the left side of the print, illuminated by the burning house, a firefighter aims a metal nozzle to shoot a jet of water into a window from the large, sled-mounted fire engine of a type in use since the 1650s (labeled with the letter Z); at the right, an orderly team of men tend the smaller, continuous-stream pump, recently invented by van der Heyden himself, that both took up and discharged water with flexible leather hoses. By placing the water pumps on opposite sides of the central burning house, van der Heyden visually sets up a comparison between their respective capabilities, while the men who operate them are uniform in their professional garb.

In contrast, Giovanni di Pedrino's painting indicates that various people had gathered to fight the fire at Lombardino da Ripetrosa's schoolhouse. The local carpenters and builders who served as the city's firefighters were armed with axes and metal helmets.[290] The firefighter shown emerging from the arch at the left on the upper story of the burning house wears such a helmet while the two men flanking the figure in white in the center lay down the axes with which they had broken open the house's door and shutters. The woman at the well and the unarmed and bareheaded men at the arched front door and at left would have been recognizable to the panel's early viewers as the owners of the burning house and of the nearby houses, who were authorized by city statues to assist in putting out the blaze.[291]

There is in the painting of the fire in Forlì no discernible source of the catastrophe, and here again van der Heyden's later text aids us by indicating many prosaic causes of small blazes that could quickly grow out of control: a hot iron knocked over by a frisky dog; an unattended warming pan of coals; or poorly constructed or inadequate chimneys.[292] Lightning or human carelessness with cooking, heating, or industrial fires as well as candles and oil lamps ignited fires that could lay waste to whole neighborhoods or even entire cities. In Venice, Marin Sanudo describes the 1514 fire in that city's central market area as starting from a spark from a heating brazier in a dry-goods shop, adding that "in less than six hours all of Rialto burned."[293] Venice, like other cities,

suffered repeatedly from major conflagrations throughout the Renaissance and beyond: in 1505, major fires broke out at the Fondaco dei Tedeschi, in Cassellaria, near San Zulian and in Rialto; toward the end of the same century the Doge's Palace was gutted by another disastrous blaze.[294] Highly flammable construction materials such as wood or thatch were common in many cities from the fourteenth century well into the seventeenth, and even where stone or masonry construction existed, wood was used extensively for balconies, doors, window frames, and furnishings, rendering large expanses of the urban fabric vulnerable.

In Forlì, city statutes from the fourteenth century sought to limit the spread of fires through the use of stone in common walls.[295] Furthermore, by the fifteenth century, all of the city's documented brick kilns, used to make the city's major building material from the fourteenth century forward and its largest industrial production dependent on fire, were at or outside Forlì's gates, including the communal kilns, used for construction of the cathedral of Santa Croce, at Porta di Schiavonia, to the northwest; the Bartolaçço kiln near Porta Cotogni, to the southeast; the Numai kiln outside Porta San Pietro, to the northeast; and the Folfo kiln outside the city walls to the south.[296] These precautions may have been in response to the blazes that devastated the entire city in November 1000 and again in July 1173, the latter time destroying the church that had stood on the site of what would become the cathedral of Santa Croce. Nonetheless, fire destroyed large sections of the city well into the early modern period, including the 1523 conflagration that left "an infinite number of houses of the most noble citizens" burned to the ground.[297] Indeed, given these repeated catastrophic conflagrations in Forlì, the fire in Lonbardino da Ripetrosa's schoolhouse in 1428 was a relatively limited one, which Giovanni di Mastro Pedrino's painting indicates by showing two quite intact neighboring buildings to the left of the ruined schoolhouse (Plate III).

TRIAL BY FIRE AND MIRACLES OF INCOMBUSTIBILITY

Pliny the Elder called fire "a vast unruly element, and one which causes us to doubt whether it is more a destructive or a creative force."[298] Brick makers, like those who worked on Forlì's periphery, were not the only ones who sought to harness fire's destructive power and use it productively. Flames could also be used juridically in a trial by fire to determine the line between truth and falsehood, or between faith and heresy.[299] Punishment by burning could be inflicted on a condemned individual, on whole communities, or on effigies of absent enemies in what were simultaneously a physical obliteration and a ritual of purification.[300] Objects put forth as holy relics could have their sanctity proven by their ability to resist burning, and vanities could be purged in public bonfires.[301]

The Florentine career of the Dominican friar, Girolamo Savonarola, demonstrates some of these cultural uses of fire.[302] Renowned from the early 1490s as a preacher whose riveting sermons packed the churches, by mid-decade Savonarola's vision of Florence as a "new Jerusalem" led him to purge the city repeatedly of its luxurious "vanities": wigs and mirrors, playing cards and musical instruments, books and sculpture. These objects were gathered around Carnival time, carefully arranged in a pyramid in Piazza della Signoria, and publicly burned. Yet as his enemies, both Florentine and papal, grew stronger, Savonarola could not fully control the political forces he had ignited, and on March 25, 1498, his Franciscan rival, Francesco da Puglia, challenged Savonarola to a trial by fire to justify the latter's disobedience to Pope Alexander VII. Savonarola and his close follower, Domenico da Pescia, accepted the challenge, and a platform was readied in Piazza della Signoria. On the morning of April 7, 1498, both parties arrived in the piazza, and before a throng of spectators, debated procedural issues until, hours later, a thunderstorm drenched the stage and sent everyone home. Savonarola's supporters sought to interpret the storm as a sign of Friar Girolamo's sanctity, but that claim did not save him, for the next day, his headquarters at San Marco were attacked and set aflame. Savonarola himself was arrested and tortured for confession. On May 22, 1498, Savonarola, Domenico da Pescia, and a third associate, Silvestro Maruffi, were executed on gallows erected at the site of the foiled trial by fire, Piazza della Signoria. Though sentenced by the Church to death by burning, the three Dominicans were hanged first, a particularly demeaning form of execution. Then their corpses were burned.

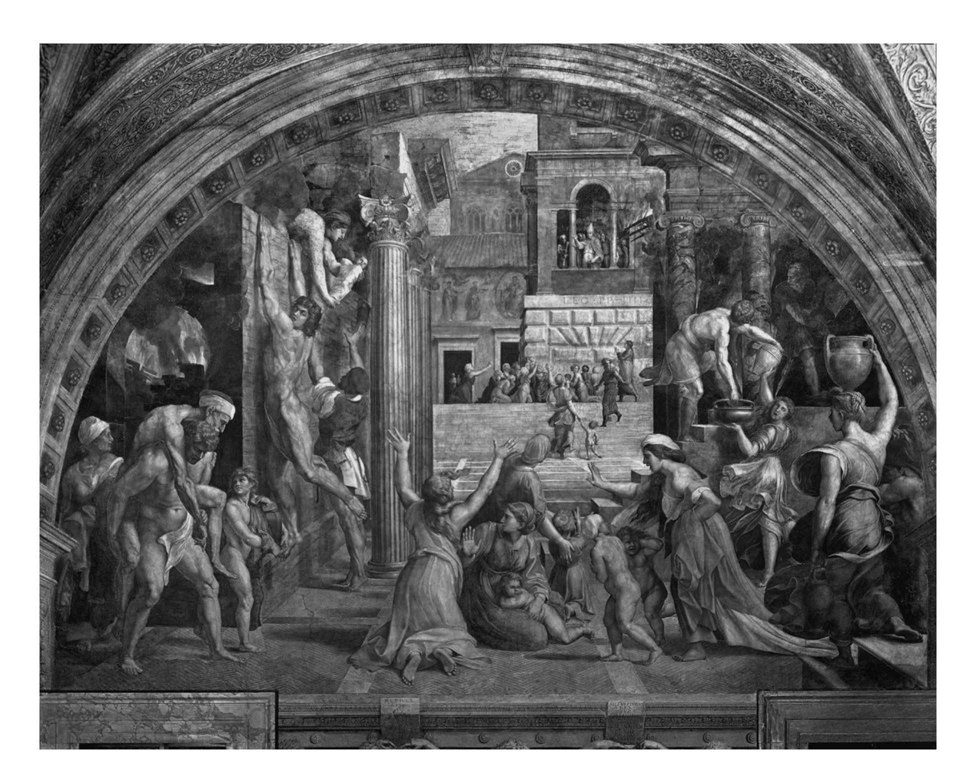
Savonarola's aborted trial by fire was a late and incomplete echo of the type of ordeal that had flourished in Latin Christendom between the ninth and twelfth centuries as a means of proving innocence. The medieval ordeal by fire had a specific liturgy, which included many blessings, exorcisms, and adjurations, as well as a Mass during which the person under trial received the Eucharist. Ernst Benz identified seven major biblical prototypes for the ordeal by fire cited in the medieval ordeal liturgy, ranging from the rescue of Abraham from the fire of the Chaldeans in the Book of Genesis to the outpouring of the Holy Spirit as tongues of flame in the Acts of the Apostles.[303] As Ernst Benz indicates, these prototypes involve "the differentiating power of fire which separates gold from slag, the faithful from the faithless"; identifying the righteous either by sparing them or by appearing to lead them to safety. One prototype that does not explicitly refer to a fire, the rescue of Susanna from the charges of her accusers, was repeatedly cited in the liturgy of the ordeal by fire, because her legal situation – lacking witnesses for her innocence, accused by false witnesses, and without a compurgator who could testify to her innocence – was exactly that which, throughout the twelfth century, required a divine judgment through a trial by fire.

What the trial by fire had been designed to test even beyond the twelfth century – and perhaps the execution by hanging of Savonarola and his associates designed to circumvent – was a miraculous ability of an innocent and especially pious individual to survive flames. Frederick Tubach's compendium of medieval Christian stories includes many miracle narratives involving such survivals of domestic fires: a Jewish boy who wants to convert to Christianity is cast into the lit oven by his father and is saved by the Virgin Mary and a mother who, while having a vision of Christ, accidentally drops her infant into the fire but without harm to the child.[304] There are also accounts of fires raging out of control, yet still sparing righteous folk: a group of nuns refuse to leave their convent but the fire that threatens it turns away; a man whose house is engulfed by flames lights a taper consecrated to the Virgin Mary and his house is spared; the house of the woman who made beer for the church, similarly surrounded by flames, is saved "through the power of the Apostles."[305]

The *Liber Pontificalis* gives us an example of another individual with mastery over a disastrous fire in its description of Pope Leo IV's actions in 847:

> a mighty fire attacked the *vicus* of the Saxons [in Rome], which by the power of its flames began to burn everything mightily; many rows of people gathered there, wanting to quench the fire's flames. But the breath of the winds made the fire reach high into the sky, burning and reducing everything so that it came near St. Peter the apostle's basilica, consuming everything and wrecking the homes of the Saxons and Lombards and the portico. Hearing this, the blessed pontiff set out thither in speed and haste, put himself in the path of the fire's force, and began to beseech the Lord to quench the fire's flames. When he made the sign of the cross with his own fingers, the fire could spread its flames no further; unable to endure the blessed pontiff's power, it was quenched and reduced its flames to ash.[306]

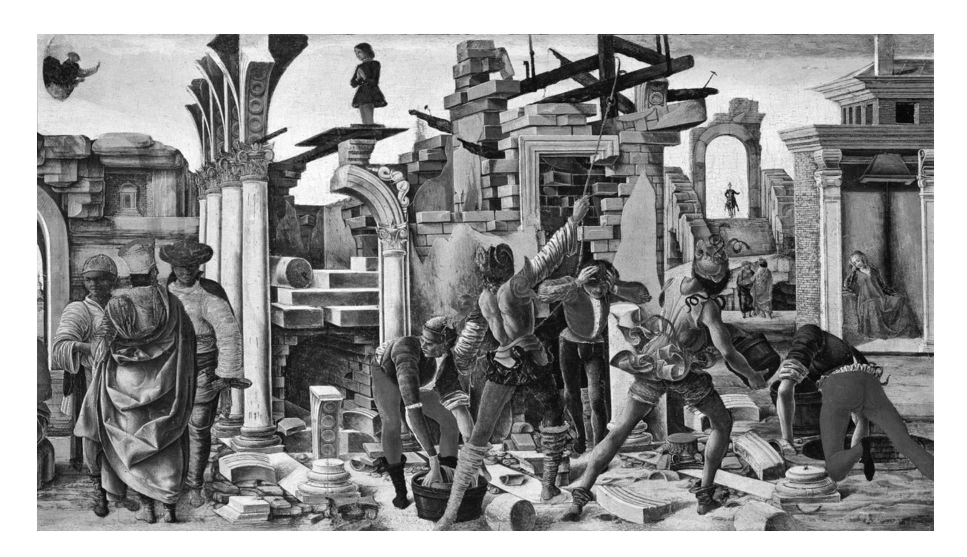
Raphael painted this scene in 1514–17 in the room of the Vatican Palace called, in reference to this fresco, the Stanza dell'Incendio (Fig. 42). The painting alludes to many of the details from this account. At the left, framed in a masonry archway, we see the terrible fire and the ruins of the buildings it has already destroyed; the smoke billowing above the strongly foreshortened wall helps us to visualize "the breath of the winds made the fire reach high into the sky." At the right, "many rows" of men and women form a bucket brigade passing vessels of water to be flung on the flames threatening the pair of colored marble columns that bear a crumbling architrave. Just to the left of these columns, in the central background, Leo IV appears in a loggia, making the sign of the cross that will quell the flames. A group of mostly women and children below him join in his prayers, while in the center foreground another group begins to notice his wondrous intervention.



42. Raphael, *Fire in the Borgo*, 1514–17. Fresco. Stanza dell'Incendio, Vatican Palace. Photo: Alinari / Art Resource, NY

An altarpiece painted in 1473 by Ercole de' Roberti also depicts a fire being miraculously extinguished by an exceptionally pious individual (Fig. 43). The scene of Saint Vincent Ferrer putting out a fire appears on the altarpiece's seven-foot-wide predella, meant to support the central, full-length image of the saint himself, and flanking saints, on panels above.[307] As one in a continuous series of scenes from the saint's life painted on the predella, the episode of the fire is interpenetrated with details from miracles of healing, preventing injury, and reviving the dead. Rubble from the fire is pushed to the foreground, where three men bend or kneel to pass buckets of water from a well. A standing man, his back to the viewer, extends a grappling hook to pull down roof beams of the burning house, while a second figure covers his head against the oncoming downfall of debris. Saint Vincent Ferrer hovers in an aureole to the left of the broken arcade, about to save the red-hosed youth, perched above the broken arch, from falling. The saint will also extinguish the fire miraculously, aiding the mundane efforts of the toiling firefighters below.

Like the scene of the fire in Ercole de' Roberti's *Miracles of Saint Vincent Ferrer*, Giovanni di Pedrino's painting of the miracle of Forlì's Madonna of the Fire was meant to frame the main image of an altarpiece, though serving as the lunette at the top rather than the supporting predella.[308] Both paintings provide



43. Detail of Ercole de'Roberti, *Miracles of Saint Vincent Ferrer*, 1473. Tempera on wood. Vatican Pinacoteca.
Photo: Vatican Museums

expanded narrative episodes that are visual counterpoints to larger, more static, iconic representations in their respective altarpieces. But the narrative painted by Giovanni di Pedrino focuses on the recognition of a single miracle by lay people and ecclesiastics alike, whereas Ercole de' Roberti enumerates various miracles caused by a saint. For the miracle of the Madonna of the Fire was not the consequence of a single individual's extraordinary piety, but rather of an icon's extraordinary power.

This emphasis on a holy picture rather than a holy person is clear from an etching and aquatint print made by the Herculani in the early nineteenth century (Fig. 44), which takes its general composition and two specific figures from Raphael's fresco, *The Fire in the Borgo.*[309] The woman who strides in from the left side of the etching, steadying a fat-bellied amphora on her head with an upraised arm, recalls the figure at the right of Raphael's painting in stance and action. At the right side of the print, another figure, her long hair falling down her back as she kneels with hands stretched out in wonder, finds its antecedent in the mother dressed in yellow in the foreground of the fresco. Both of the printed figures are given new companions: a man bringing water in a bucket on his head joins the woman with the amphora at the print's left, and a bearded man and another figure kneel with the woman with outstretched arms at the right.

Framed by these Raphaelesque figures, the center of the etching subverts the composition of *The Fire in the Borgo.* Instead of Pope Leo the Great making the sign of the cross from the benediction loggia of Old Saint Peter's, we see the schoolhouse of Lombardino da Ripetrosa burning. Billowing smoke obscures most of the roof and flames spill out of windows, while the image of the

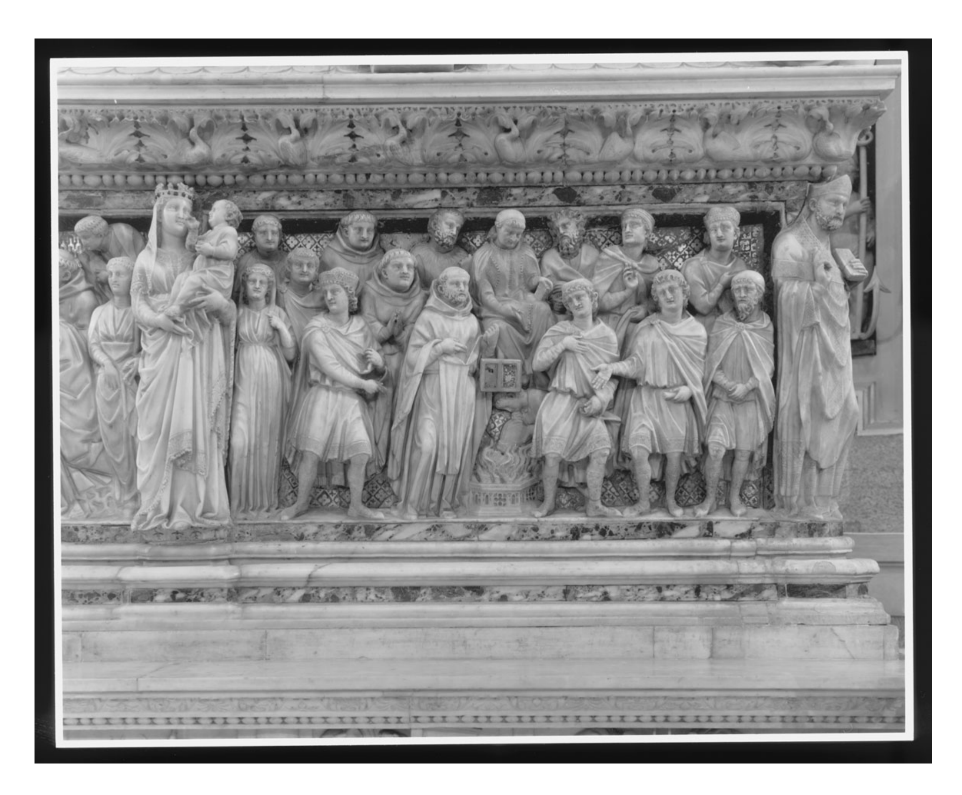


44. Herculani, *Miracle of the Madonna of the Fire*. Etching and aquatint. Archivio Capitolare Forlì.
Photo: Liverani

Madonna of the Fire hovers unharmed in the fiery doorway. The print has replaced the pope by substituting the Madonna of the Fire for Leo the Great. In using figures and the basic composition from Raphael's *Fire in the Borgo*, this nineteenth-century print elevates the Madonna of the Fire but diminishes a basic message of Giovanni di Pedrino's painting of February 4, 1428. The lunette asks its viewers to consider not an extraordinary saint, but the ordinary citizens of Forlì who fought the fire that night, and who witnessed the miracle that took place then. In contrast, the people who saw and recognized the unexpected miraculous survival, without human intervention, of a piece of paper bearing an image of Mary and Jesus, are celebrated in Giovanni di Pedrino's painting.

"MIRACLE, MIRACLE!"

As noted earlier, objects already thought to be holy could have their sanctity tested by fire: for instance, Veronica's veil with the imprint of Christ's face (discussed at length in the previous chapter) was widely accepted as genuine by



45. Detail from Nicola Pisano, *Arca di San Domenic*o, 1264–7. Marble. Basilica di San Domenico, Bologna. The Ralph Lieberman Photographic Archive. Courtesy of Special Collections, Fine Arts Library, Harvard University

the late seventh century because it had remained unharmed after being thrown into a fire.[310] Sometimes, holy things were tested by fire in the context of disputes with heretics, such as in Saint Dominic's miracle of the book. The episode, described in the mid-thirteenth-century vita of the saint[311] as well as the well-known *Golden Legend*, is depicted in the upper zone of Saint Dominic's tomb, carved in the Bolognese church dedicated to him. On the long side of the ark now facing the chapel entrance, the sculpted figure of the Madonna stands at center, holding the Christ child and dividing the panel into two separate narrative scenes. The scene to the right of the Madonna and Child shows the miracle of the book in a highly symmetrical composition (Fig. 45): in the right foreground, three heretical Albigensians, who had asked that the book containing Dominic's profession of faith be thrown into the fire as a trial, look with dismay at the book hovering unscathed above the flames being fanned by a small boy with a bellows; opposite them, three figures including Dominic himself also watch and react, while other judges and witnesses are arrayed regularly behind them.[312] The heretics' own books, according to the *Golden Legend*, had already burned in the fire.[313]

Pictures as well as books were subjected to purging by fire. An early fourteenth-century lectionary now in Berlin tells a millennium-old story about the Byzantine emperor, Julian the Apostate (331–63), who ordered all the icons in Constantinople burned: a Marian icon leapt out of the flames and fled across the sea to settle in Padua where it became known as the "Constantinopolitan Madonna."[314] In the sixteenth century, Reformation iconoclasts burned the religious images they considered idolatrous in bonfires that "invoked and travestied the flames of purgatory":[315] a painting on poplar of Mary and Jesus under a canopy that served as the cult icon in the castle chapel of Duchcov had been thrown into the flames by iconoclasts in Öttingen in Swabia but survived all but undamaged.[316]

Not all attempts at burning were intentional acts of ordeal by fire. There are many cases of sacred things remaining unharmed by flames when the ecclesiastical buildings around them were accidentally set on fire. A blaze that burned down the church and monastery at Saint Roman de Joux, Burgundy, did not touch an ampule of Saint Martin's oil kept there.[317] A Marian icon in the church of Santa Maria Nova in Rome remained unharmed in a thirteenth-century fire that consumed the building.[318] The mortal remains of Saint Catherine of Siena escaped even traces of ash or the smell of smoke after several hours in a disastrous inferno.[319] A candle used instead of a sanctuary oil lamp during the Easter Vigil in the church of St. Martin in Toul fell and burned the altar cloths, but the Host and its corporal remained intact.[320] The wooden Bianchi Crucifix not only failed to burn but even seemed to push the flames away when Brunelleschi's church of Santo Spirito in Florence was gutted by fire in 1471.[321]

A crucifix or icon in a church, a saint's body or secondary relics, the Eucharistic host and its corporal – these things are all quite unlike the Madonna of the Fire, which before February 1428 was a printed image on paper, tacked to the wall of a schoolroom. The fire that destroyed Lombardino da Ripetrosa's school was not a trial by ordeal, organized to test the sanctity of the woodcut, but rather an accidental and unplanned disaster. In some respects, the fire in that Forlì schoolhouse was similar to a miracle reported to have taken place in Reggio Emilia on August 5, 1597, when a fire broke out in a building adjacent to the monastery of San Marco. Spurred on by high winds, the blaze quickly spread, threatening the whole neighborhood. A paper image of the local Marian icon, the Madonna di Reggio, was attached to a wall with red wax, and though the fire approached and heated the wall to the point where "lead would melt," the wax did not liquefy and the sheet of paper remained affixed to the wall. Indeed the picture held the fire at bay.[322]

Like Forlì's Madonna of the Fire, the 1597 miracle in Reggio Emilia involved an image of the Virgin Mary on paper, stuck to a wall for religious devotions that took place outside the confines of a church. In both cases, the Marian image survived an accidental and disastrous fire. There is however a fundamental difference: the paper Madonna that did not burn in Reggio Emilia was explicitly

an image of another picture, the miracle-working painting known as the Madonna di Reggio. Having for centuries been visible on the garden wall of the Servite convent in Reggio Emilia, devotion to the Madonna di Reggio grew after it was repainted in situ in 1569 by a local artist known as il Betone following a design by Lelio Orsi. The cult of the Madonna di Reggio grew even more when the painting began working miracles in its new chapel in 1596. The fire that did not burn the paper image the following year is in fact recorded in texts listing miracles of the Madonna di Reggio. The miracle of the incombustible paper Mary in Reggio Emilia was always understood as part of the larger cult of the painted Madonna di Reggio.

In contrast, with the blaze of February 4, 1428, the Madonna of the Fire itself became the focus of a new cult, independent of any earlier local devotion to Mary. The people of Forlì who cried, "Miracle, miracle!" at seeing the woodcut unharmed in the midst of flames that night were celebrating not only the survival of the print but also the establishment of a new devotion to Mary that would perfuse their whole city, and beyond.[323]



Giovanni Giardini, *Tabernacle for the Madonna of the Fire*, detail of fig. 55

CHAPTER FOUR

DOMESTIC DISPLAY: LOMBARDINO DA RIPETROSA'S SCHOOLHOUSE

On the right side of Giovanni di Mastro Pedrino's painting (Plate III, Fig. 46), we see two tonsured figures in blue cassocks and white surplices. They stand ready to place the Madonna of the Fire on an altar, draped with striped cloths and a red antependium, beneath a round-headed window. Behind them, two similarly attired figures kneel, their hands crossed over their chests, attending to the placement of the image, now recognized as miraculous, on the altar. The woodcut had been taken from the burned remains of Lombardino da Ripetrosa's schoolhouse to be enshrined in the nearby cathedral. The process of enshrinement depicted in Giovanni di Mastro Pedrino's painting transformed a print meant to aid domestic devotional practice into a miraculous object and a cult icon, the focus of communal religious activity in its own right. As such, the aura of the print, its very remoteness, already sharply magnified by the signal miracle of surviving the fire, was ritually and physically enhanced by its placement within the church. In other words, the process through which the Madonna of the Fire was inserted into the phenomenological and institutional space of the cathedral – its identification, enshrinement, and embellishment as a miraculous cult image – removed it from the broader general reception it had enjoyed previously.

Sometimes, such as in the case of the Madonna of Impruneta, a miraculous image marked where a new church that would enshrine it should be built. According to legend, when the people of Impruneta first tried to build a local church, they were astonished that each night their construction from the previous day was undone; the local prelates were divinely inspired to leave the decision of the new church's site to the oxen hauling the building stones. A foundation was begun where the oxen, guided by divine will, halted,



46. Giovanni di Mastro Pedrino, *Miracle of the Fire*, detail of Color Plate III

and the digging there revealed the "panel of the image of the Glorious Virgin" (*tavola della Imagine della Vergine Gloriosa*) – which became known as the Madonna of Impruneta.[324] A cult icon enshrined and venerated in its proper place could also resist being moved even by explosive force, as Bologna's Madonna del Baraccano did. That image had been painted on a bastion ("*baraccano*") of the city's walls at the beginning of the fifteenth century, when the church that had been built up around it was hit by artillery during a battle with Pope Julius II in the early sixteenth century. According to a seventeenth-century recounting of the event, the explosion blasted the icon and its chapel so high it could be seen by soldiers both inside and outside of the city. But quickly, "it came down and returned to the same place on the wall from which the force of the blast had separated it and it rejoined itself, as if it had never been moved."[325] Despite the blast, the icon remained in its proper place.

More often, especially after the Council of Trent, images identified as miraculous were taken from where they had been found and brought into an

already existing church. In 1535, a fourteenth-century fresco of the Madonna was struck by a thrown stone and began to bleed miraculously (a much-repeated trope that we will see again in Forlì's Madonna della Canonica); in the late sixteenth century, it was taken into the new church of Santa Maria in Vallicella begun in 1575.[326] Beginning in 1608, the icon was framed and reframed in a new altarpiece and blocked from casual viewing by a panel painted by Peter Paul Rubens to be ritually revealed only on festive occasions.[327] Even when an icon was not rehoused in a church per se, its recognition as miracle-working prompted paraecclesiastical structures – an oratory or sanctuary that was not consecrated but had undergone the lesser rite of benediction – to grow up around it, often under the supervision of dedicated lay confraternities.[328] Thus, in the late sixteenth century, the Madonna of the Arch, which had been painted on a Roman aqueduct on the outskirts of Naples and also bled when struck, became enclosed by a large sanctuary.[329]

The case of the so-called Madonna de'Ricci of Florence demonstrates both paraecclesiastical and then ecclesiastical enshrinement: an image of the Annunciation had been frescoed over a door on the exterior of the parish church of Santa Maria degli Alberighi originally in the mid-fourteenth-century; when it was recognized as a miraculous image in the early sixteenth century, gates were quickly placed on the streets leading to the adjoining piazza to restrict general access to the icon, and an oratory was built alongside the church to enclose it. The oratory grew repeatedly, and in the seventeenth century the original church of Santa Maria degli Alberighi and the oratory came to be administered jointly as the Church of the Madonna de'Ricci. In 1771, the fresco was cut off the wall on which it had been painted four centuries before and placed above the main altar of the composite church, where it remains today.[330]

Thus, a religious image can be moved from the site of its recognition as a miraculous icon into a church, or it can precipitate the establishment of a sanctuary or church *in situ* around it. In both cases, the material object's place is transformed from an "ordinary" space to a "sacred" site, either by transporting it physically or by transforming the locus in which it had been found. As Megan Holmes has noted, "The very designation of a sacred image as 'miraculous' marked a change in the phenomenology of the object – a recontextualization within a new ritual framework of an image previously deployed for other purposes."[331] This redeployment did not result only in new rituals: the spaces the miraculous icon inhabits are also changed and charged by the numinous energy recognized by those who witnessed the miracle. The enshrinement of the miraculous icon focuses and localizes that numinous charge.

The Madonna of the Fire of Forlì offers a magnificent example for studying these transitions. First, its enshrinement took place during the centuries-long construction of Forlì's cathedral – truly a case study in what Marvin Trachtenberg recently called "building-in-time," and a complex one. Its chapel, completed in 1636, was renovated in the eighteenth century, and the

fifteenth-century cathedral building was almost entirely demolished in 1841 to make way for the current edifice.[332] Second, its enshrinement involved not just one but two distinct sites: both the site of the blaze that marked the Madonna of the Fire as miraculous and the chapel built in the cathedral where it is still venerated. The icon was moved to and enshrined within the city's cathedral, and the remains of the burned house eventually became the site of a new church known as the *Chiesina del Miracolo*, or Little Church of the Miracle, finally completed in 1819. The original placement of the devotional print that became the icon known as the Madonna of the Fire, its use within the context of a schoolhouse, as well as the transformation of Lombardino da Ripetrosa's house into a church – a consecrated rather than quotidian space – are the subjects of this chapter.

WORSHIP AT HOME AND AT SCHOOL

Though there is no question that a site consecrated by the Catholic Church is different than one that is not, it is important to keep in mind that any strict binary polarity between religious and secular, between extraordinary and ordinary, is too stark. As Edward Muir and others have pointed out, "rigid distinctions between sacred and profane . . . must have seemed alien, even irreligious" to early modern viewers.[333] Indeed, recognition of a miracle could charge an icon and the places it inhabited only because what we from a twenty-first-century perspective may consider secular spaces were, to period viewers, always already potentially sacred. Nowhere is this fluidity between daily living and religious devotion more evident than in the Renaissance home. Recently scholars, including Peter Thornton, Donal Cooper, Jacqueline Musacchio, and Margaret Morse, have explored devotional objects, practices, and spaces of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italian residences.[334] Their research has demonstrated the degree to which the Italian Renaissance residence was more than a purely secular space and was thoroughly permeated by devotional activity.

In the fifteenth century, even a domestic chapel was not necessarily a spatially distinct locus used exclusively for religious activity. Rather, until the late sixteenth century, a house altar was more generally placed in a multi-purpose room and was often comprised of any sort of table put together with the consecrated altar stone known as the *pietra sagrata*, upon which the Eucharist would be placed during the mass.[335] In 1422, Cosimo de' Medici received a papal concession of such an altar that was not fixed in a single place [*portatile*] for the residence now known as the Casa Vecchia, which he inhabited before 1458, when he moved to the Palazzo Medici designed by Michelozzo. The 1422 concession stipulated only that the altar be used "in fitting and decent spaces" [*in locus ad hoc congruentibus et honestis*], a phrase that became standard in such

documents well into the sixteenth century.[336] In 1562, the Council of Trent would require a domestic chapel be separated from the house's main room, or *sala*,[337] but prior to that ruling, many domestic altars would have been situated there or in other multipurpose rooms of the house, including, for example, the medium-sized room known as the *salotto*. A 1497 inventory of the Tornabuoni palace in Florence indicates its upstairs *salotto* was lavishly equipped for liturgical services, including a Flemish altarpiece, a velvet altar frontal decorated with the Tornabuoni arms and a silk-and-gold fringe, velvet vestments, brass candleholders, a silver pax in an ivory tabernacle, and a printed missal. A *salotto* was often furnished with a table that, together with a *pietra sagrata*, could be used as an altar [*a uso d'altare*], for celebrating the Mass, but such a room would also have been used for other, more secular social activities, such as receiving visitors or dining.[338] Even within a later, self-enclosed domestic chapel, non-religious interactions often occurred: the Medici, for example, were known to conduct a significant amount of business even in their exquisite palace chapel painted by Benozzo Gozzoli.[339] As Philip Mattox notes, "domestic sacral space was not necessarily static nor confined to a single location."[340]

Religious images were not only placed near domestic altars but throughout the Renaissance home. One reason for their ubiquity was the sense throughout the early modern period that images of holy figures and scenes could stimulate the development of Christian behavior in those who viewed them often and attentively. Two cardinals, Giovanni Dominici in the early fifteenth century and Silvio Antoniano in the late sixteenth century, both wrote about how young children should be raised in houses filled with holy pictures; between them at the cusp of the sixteenth century, Girolamo Savonarola exhorted his adult followers to have a picture made on paper to show heaven and hell and to "keep it in your room in a place where it will often be in front of your eyes, but not where you will make a habit of seeing it and thereby not be at all moved."[341] Regular, thoughtful attention to the examples given by holy figures and their actions was to be prompted by the viewing of sacred images placed throughout the domestic environment.

If fifteenth- and sixteenth-century treatises and sermons endorsed the placement of holy pictures throughout the household, Renaissance images that depicted domestic interiors, such as Carpaccio's *St. Ursula* (Fig. 47) or the woodcuts in Savonarola's *Art of Dying Well* (Fig. 48), suggest that this prescription was often carried out. Period inventories offer further confirmation that in the late medieval through early modern periods, Italian homes were filled with images of sacred scenes and personages.[342] A particularly favored subject was the Madonna. Cardinal Antoniano, speaking to the Christian education of children, particularly suggested placing "some beautiful and pious image of the most saintly Mary" in a mother's bedroom so her children could see her and others bowing in devotion before it regularly. Antoniano added, "If it is worthwhile to do this for male children, it is even more so for daughters, to



47. Vittore Carpaccio, *Dream of St. Ursula*, 1495. Tempera on canvas, 273 cm × 267 cm. Venice, Accademia.
Photo: Erich Lessing / Art Resource, NY

whom this highest Queen [Mary] should be proposed as a model and example of humility and every virtue."[343] If Florentines most often put Marian images in their bedchambers, Venetians, to quote Margaret Morse, "seem to have preferred to inundate their living environments with her image."[344]

In Forlì, the house belonging to Antonio da Borgo San Sepolcro demonstrates similarities in structure and furnishing with many residences elsewhere in Italy.[345] Located in Forlì's central neighborhood of San Tomà de Conturberio, a zone just southwest of the cathedral inhabited by artists' families during the fifteenth century, [346] an inventory of July 22, 1430 indicates that there was an entryway "near the staircase" [*introit juxta schalam*]; three chambers, including one on the ground floor [*camera a tereno*] and one upstairs [*camera superiorij*]; one large multipurpose room known as the great hall [*sala magna*]; a kitchen [*quoquina*]; and a small room over the staircase [*stantia supra scalam*]. The



equali tucti appartengono ad te che se sano: ma debbi pensare
che ad ogni hora tu puoi infermarti & morire: perche questo
pensiero della mõte e / regula molto utile nella uita spirituale.
Horsu questo basti quanto alla prima cartha dellibro / che io
ti ho decto che tu ti faccia dipingere. Vegnamo hora alla se/
conda cartha.

¶ La secunda cartha che io ti dissi gia altra uolta e / questa che
tucti facci dipingere uno huomo cominciato ad infirmarsi con

48. *The Sickroom*, woodcut in Girolamo Savonarola, *Predica dell'arte del bene morire*, Florence: Bartolommeo de'Libri, after November 2, 1496. Rosenwald Collection 318, Rare Book and Special Collections Division of the Library of Congress, Washington, DC

entryway and the room above the stairs were used largely for storage, the former holding, among other items, wine barrels and a large container of flour, and the latter, an old armchair with four legs, seventy large and small salvers, a broken vessel for heating water, and a large animal cage. The *sala magna* had ample seating in the form of seven benches and two armchairs, and each of the three chambers had a bed. The downstairs chamber, likely used by the owners for sleeping in the summer,[347] also held a cradle, a small wooden armoire, and an old painted chest, whereas the upstairs chamber was more sumptuously furnished, including a bed curtain painted with peacocks; a pair of bridal chests, one painted with a story from the Book of Judges; a tripod table; and a small library comprised of twenty-five paper-bound books [*libros a papirj*], six small leather-bound record books [*vachetas*], and eight smaller paper-bound books, perhaps secondhand [*libruzolos a papirj*].[348] Most important in terms of devotional imagery in the domestic setting were the small, old picture of the Madonna in Majesty [*unam maiesta parva antiqua*] in the downstairs bedchamber and the folio-sized paper image of the Virgin Mary [*unam Imago virginis marie in folio a papirj*] –perhaps an image showing the Madonna of the Fire whose signal miracle of surviving the fire had taken place just two years before – in the upstairs one.

But Lombardino da Ripetrosa's house was not like that of Antonio da Borgo San Sepolcro or many of the others whose contents have been studied through inventories; his house in Forlì was also a school. Lombardino, as his name tells us, came from the nearby castle town of Ripetrosa under the jurisdiction of Forlì.[349] He was likely a communal schoolmaster, who earned a stipend given by the city and supplemented by fees from the students.[350] Little information survives about his career beyond his teaching in Forlì in 1428, and it may be that he, like many schoolteachers, moved from post to post as a teacher, and perhaps also as a private tutor to noble youth, or even as a notary.[351] His predecessor as schoolteacher in Forlì, Albertico da Barbiano, had a remarkably brief tenure, perhaps a failed probationary period, of less than three weeks in April 1425.[352]

This type of itinerant career was typical of many late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century schoolmasters, including Giovanni di Conversino (1343–1408), who wrote an autobiography describing his appointments in communal schools in Treviso, Conegliano, Belluno, Udine, Padua, and Venice, which kept him travelling despite his personal dislike of the peripatetic life.[353] Contracts for communal schoolteachers encouraged mobility, usually having brief terms of one to five years.[354] Forlì had a tradition of civic schooling that began well before the general rise of communal schools across Italy in the late fourteenth century, with documentation reaching back to 1102 when a layman teacher described as "Giovanni grammatico" was working in the city.[355] By 1359, municipal schools in Forlì were well established: in that year the city statutes prescribed that "teachers of grammar and any other faculty or science" (*magistris grammaticae et cuiuscumque alterius facultatis vel scientiae*) would be paid a communal salary for their teaching. Masters "of grammar or other liberal arts

in Forlì's schools" (*grammaticae vel alterius liberalis artis . . . in scholis in civitate Forlivii*) were exempted from military service, personal taxes, and banishment, benefits that were common elsewhere in Italy as well.[356] Another common benefit for schoolteachers was subsidized rent, free use of, or even outright ownership of a schoolhouse, which was generally not a new structure but a preexisiting house adapted for schoolroom use.[357] Thus, Lombardino da Ripetrosa likely enjoyed communally subsidized rent, or even ownership, of the house in Forlì where he taught in 1428.[358]

Lombardino's pupils likely would have sat on classroom benches according to their height,[359] the youngest learning to read first from letters, syllables, and images on a sheet of paper or parchment that was glued to a piece of wood with a handle, known as the *tavola*, *carta*, or *santacroce*. The first ["board"] and second ["paper"] of these terms referred to the materials with which this learning aid was made; the third ["holy cross"] came from the handwritten or printed cross that preceded the letter *A* in the alphabet displayed on its surface.[360] Older students would have moved on to studying the psalter or *salterio*, and then to the grammar books known as the *donato* or *donadello* or *Ianua*.[361] *Tavola*, *salterio*, and *donadello* were thus the standard textbooks in elementary education; their use marked the three major classes of students from beginning to most advanced readers. A handled *tavola*, its cross and letters clearly legible, is prominently placed with a number of schoolbooks in the foreground of Aurelio Milani's oil study for the altarpiece he painted of *The Miracle of the Madonna of the Fire* in the church of San Marcello in Corso, Rome in 1725 (Figs. 49, 95. This painting is discussed further in Chapter 8).[362]

Lombardino's classroom, like most others, also had an image of the Madonna and Child tacked to a wall, where it could help focus the prayer that opened each school day and on Saturdays at the end of lessons. Bonvesin de la Riva's much-reprinted manual, *De vita scholastici*, provides an example of such an opening prayer – "O Christ, for love of your Mother, may I have your grace, because my tongue gives praise in your name." The text continues by exhorting students to recognize the Virgin Mary "always as your special friend; honor her, pray to her, and love her with reverence. . . . She is the guide and ornament of schoolmasters, the conscience of schoolboys, and the mistress of the just way."[363] The Marian image in Lombardino's schoolroom – printed on paper, tacked to the wall, and used as Bonvesin de la Riva suggested – became the Madonna of the Fire on February 4, 1428.

TEXTS, PLACES, AND PRUDENCE

Giuliano Bezzi, the seventeenth-century civic secretary of Forlì, memorably described the fire which broke out in Lombardino da Ripetrosa's schoolhouse that night:



49. Aurelio Milani, *Model for Miracle of the Madonna of the Fire of Forlì*, detail. ca. 1725. Oil on canvas. Minneapolis Institute of Arts, The John R. Van Derlip Fund 71.46. For the complete painting, see Fig. 95

> Oh that triumph, which one cannot retell without astonishing! First the fire fed upon the benches and cupboards of the school, in this way satisfying its nature of travelling higher. Then with a jump it reached that sacred Paper [*Carta*] beloved by the Highest of the High. The fire stopped its steps in reverence at the aspect of that Most Holy Image, and the flames (oh, wonder!) in the guise of the innocent fingers of a devoted hand detached it from the wall to which it had been nailed: the fire had judged that surface too vile to support such a worthy portrait [*Ritratto*]: rather it wanted that the heaven of the sheet like other heavens, have a sphere of flames for a base. All at once in the enclosure of that room, the fire flamed up, and the unharmed image was seen above, as in its throne: the fire had already devoured the planking of the first floor, and opened there a way out for the venerated sheet [*riverito foglio*] in order, not to burn it, but to exalt it. With that sheet on its back the fire flew up to the second floor, and from there in a moment it broke through the roof, and there appeared the Image of the Virgin up on that miraculous stake like a triumphant Phoenix, not burning.[364]

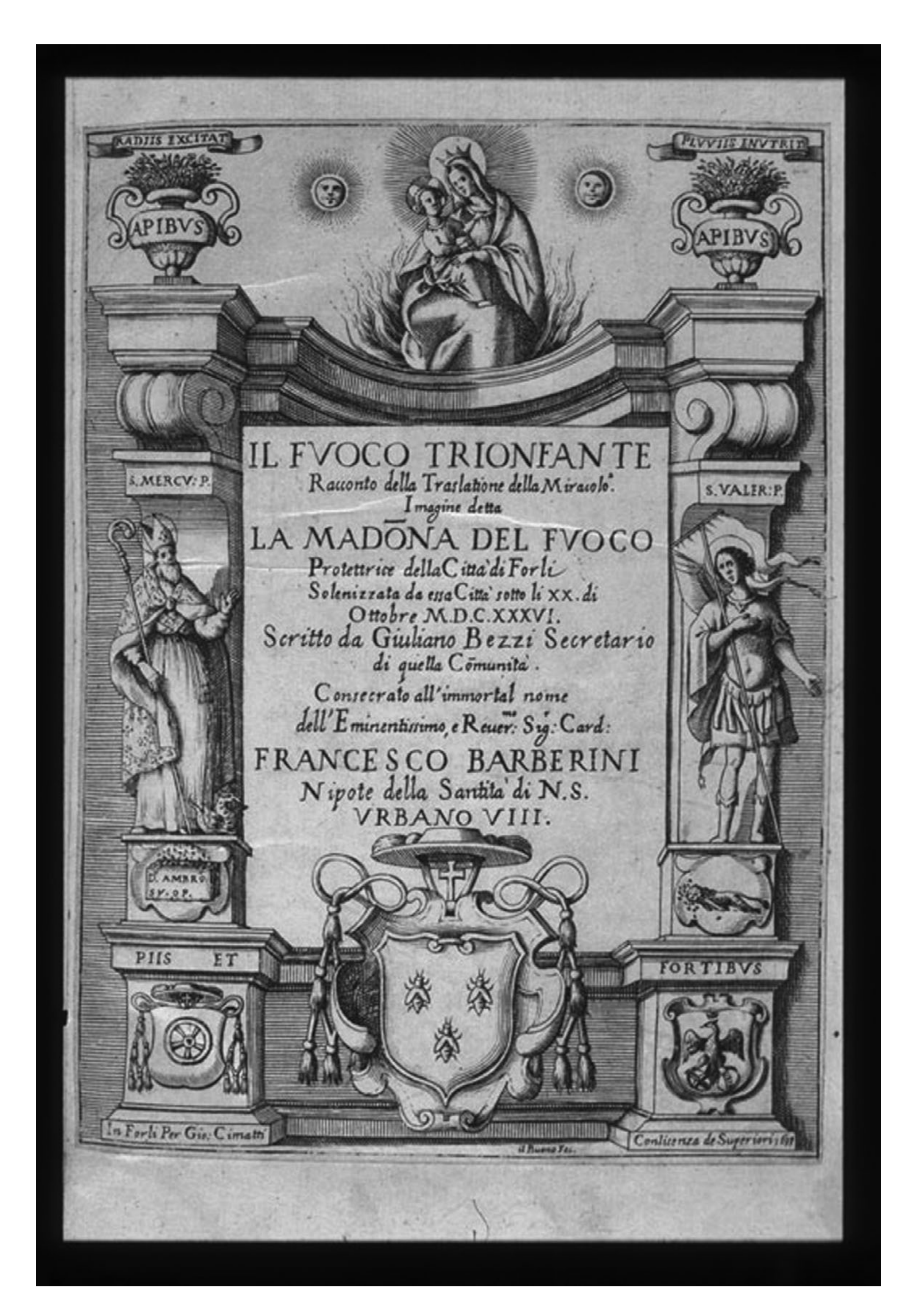
Bezzi's telling of the story emphasizes the stable materiality of the stuff burned – the school's furnishings and the building's floor planks used as fuel for the fire – as well as that of the unharmed Madonna of the Fire, described as a "Paper" or "sheet" nailed onto the wall. In contrast, the fire is figured in an ever-changing series of personifications: first as a devouring, climbing force; then as a devoted hand freeing the sheet from a surface it had judged

to be unworthy; and finally as a miraculous stake. The metaphorical play on the image of fire as both a destructive and a constructive force begins even before the passage cited above, when Bezzi describes the students' "burning" enthusiasm for learning. Indeed the fire itself is in some ways figured like a model student with a hunger for knowledge and an "innocent hand," eager to exalt the Madonna as Bonvesin de la Riva instructed in *De vita scholastici*.

The vivid language in this passage and elsewhere in the text made Bezzi's book, *The Triumphal Fire*, the canonical treatment of the Madonna of the Fire (Fig. 50). Published in Forlì in 1637 with engravings by Floriano dal Buono, *The Triumphal Fire* was lovingly read by the local faithful and repeatedly cited in subsequent accounts of the miracle into the nineteenth century. With its scintillating descriptions and lively phrases, Bezzi's text had the power to capture his readers' imaginations, thus enshrining the Madonna of the Fire, not in stone and mortar, but in well-chosen words. As a book entirely dedicated to that icon, its origins, its history, and the procession that took it to its newly completed chapel in 1636, *The Triumphal Fire* positioned the Madonna of the Fire as the city's most important celestial patron, as Bezzi trumpeted on his title page, the undisputed "protectress of the city of Forlì." After its publication, the Madonna of the Fire became widely known as the cult icon most closely associated with the city, to the point that in 1699 a Neapolitan could call Forlì's cathedral the "church of the Madonna of the Fire," despite its official dedication to the Holy Cross and the local saint Valerian.[365] This recognition of the Madonna of the Fire by an author so far from Forlì is astonishing, given that just an odd dozen years before Bezzi's book was published, that icon is not even mentioned in Giovanni Felice Astolfi's 1623 *Universal History of Miraculous Images of the Great Mother of God*. Astolfi's global history did include a section on Forlì as part of its ambition to narrate "the origins and the progress of the major [Marian] cults in Italy, France, Spain, Germany, England, Poland, Flanders and other Nations of Europe, as well as the East and West Indies," but omitted any mention of the Madonna of the Fire.[366]

Bezzi's textual enshrinement of the Madonna of the Fire does not mean his account was uncontested; even within decades of the publication of *The Triumphal Fire*, Bezzi's literary skill in crafting his narrative was not appreciated by all his readers. In 1686, Bartolomeo Ricceputi wrote his own account, the *History of the Miraculous Image called The Madonna of the Fire of the City of Forlì*. In it, Ricceputi took exception to what he considered the excesses of Bezzi's account. Ricceputi wrote:

> [P]oetic pens and some modern brushes, to whom every thing seems permitted, have taken too many liberties in the writing or sketching of this miracle. They have wanted to represent for their audience's eyes and understanding such a great event; and in order to make it appear with such



50. Floriano dal Buono, engraved title page for Giuliano Bezzi, *Il fuoco trionfante* [*The Triumphal Fire*], Forlì: Cimatti, 1637. Typ 625.37.208, Houghton Library, Harvard University

> immediacy that a single glance captures the triumph which carried that paper [*Carta*] from such a great fire, that they pretended that very paper was flying above the flames. But this is surely some poet's invention or painter's liberty.[367]

Bezzi – a distinguished member of Forlì's humanist Accademia dei Filergiti, known for his poetry – and his vivid language in *The Triumphal Fire* are clearly being disparaged by Ricceputi as poetic license. In terms of painters, Ricceputi accepted Giovanni di Pedrino's painting (Plate III) as an "unquestionable authority," specifically pointing out that this painting "represents the Most Holy Paper not flying over the roof but affixed to its plank of wood inside the burning house, resistant though to the flames."[368] There is no question then that Ricceputi would have disapproved of images like the eighteenth-century print by Nicola Lindemain (Fig. 51), in which the *Madonna del Fuoco* flies over the burning house, as in Bezzi's narration.

Ricceputi's own account, not surprisingly, lacks Bezzi's rhetorical flourishes, and tells the story of the miracle with a spare directness:

> [T]hat light weight [of the image and the plank to which it had been nailed] stayed suspended on the wall for three days without a single lesion . . . that image was transfused by a majestic, supernatural, splendour, which for three days illuminated that whole place with a sign, so that the eyes of the spectators were that much more clearly pulled there, and the people were that much more efficaciously incited to cry, "Miracle, Miracle!"[369]

Ricceputi's telling of the story is not free from its own embellishments: the repetition of the image's three days in the flames is a striking element, and, as it echoes the duration of Christ's time in the tomb, a theologically important one. But there is no denying the greater sobriety of Ricceputi's account, in which the fire, far from being personified as in Bezzi's text, hardly appears at all. Instead, the image's survival unharmed is simply described as majestic, splendid, supernatural, and efficacious in drawing attention to itself. Even the event is characterized as a "miracle" by the onlookers, moved by the image's own efficacy in drawing attention to its untouched state, rather than by Ricceputi himself as narrator of the event.

The influential *Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images*, first published in 1582, by Gabriele Paleotti, the bishop of Bologna who was part of the Council of Trent, offers us a way to better understand Ricceputi's negative reaction to Bezzi's description of the miracle.[370] Paleotti first gives a rule of thumb, one that parallels Ricceputi's censure against both poets' pens and painters' brushes: those things that can be written in a book by an author, Paleotti states, can equally well serve as the material for a visual artist; *vice versa*, things prohibited to writing by Christian law are likewise prohibited to pictorial art.[371] Paleotti then gives a scheme of five grades of abuse, following, he says, "the most common usage of theologians" (*seguitando l'uso più commune de'teologi*),[372] which



51. Nicola Lindemain, *Miracle of the Madonna of the Fire*, eighteenth century.
Etching, 208 mm × 143 mm. Fondo Piancastelli, Forlì Biblioteca Comunale Aurelio Saffi.
Photo: Liverani

categorizes unacceptable assertions – and pictures, and texts by extension – as reckless, scandalous, erroneous, suspect, and heretical.[373] These categories shade one into the other, with erroneous assertions, for example, being those which contain falsehoods in matters of faith or custom, but "not reaching the degree" of heretical assertions, which instead are both intellectually understood to be erroneous and nonetheless willingly adhered to.[374]

This fluidity of categories makes Paleotti's schema difficult to use precisely; as he says, he is not speculating on dogmatic propositions but trying to demonstrate how one should put the use of images, and texts, into practice. Nonetheless, Paleotti's five grades of abuse allows us to see how some early modern readers, such as Bartolomeo Ricceputi, might have reacted to Bezzi's telling of the miracle of the *Madonna del Fuoco* flying above the burning house: as a reckless assertion. Recklessness [*temerità*] involves an assertion which is possible but not for certain true. Paleotti says, for example, if an inscription on a picture says the world will end in fifty years, that picture is certainly reckless, as it may happen that way, but it is not possible to ascertain that it shall. However, Paleotti continues, not every uncertain thing represented as certain is reckless. If things narrated or painted which are highly probable and used to soften the heart of the viewer or listener – Paleotti gives as examples Christ's prayers in the Agony in the Garden or Mary's laments during the Passion, which are not part of Scripture – are joined with judgment and verisimilitude, then the painter or preacher is cleared of the charge of temerity. On the other hand, Paleotti warns:

> [I]f they are things that are only imagined in order to make people cry or to rouse the fervour of devotion, without any regard to the decorum of the persons involved or the probability and verisimilitude of the fact, then of course that does not defend the author from the charge of recklessness. It appears to us necessary to warn against this at great length, however that many, moved by indiscreet zeal, err easily this way, not using the necessary prudence.[375]

The absence of what Paleotti elsewhere calls that "most exquisite virtue," prudence, can lead to the reckless desire to overexcite the religious fervor of one's audience.[376]

For Ricceputi, what he considered Bezzi's overly imaginative description of the Madonna of the Fire flying above the burning schoolhouse would fall into this error of recklessness. The Forlivese historian Paolo Bonoli, an important source for Ricceputi, pointed out the dangers of Bezzi's reckless account:

> Those who say that image was transported high above the flames err, taking a great deal away from the miracle by making it possible for some to doubt by thinking that that simple paper, transported in such a way by the force of the smoke, was thereby rendered safe from the fire by the wind, having been pushed to some other place.[377]

Thus, Bezzi's telling of the story, with its high-flying Madonna of the Fire, was dangerously reckless, since it had the further consequence of possibly leading people to doubt the miracle.

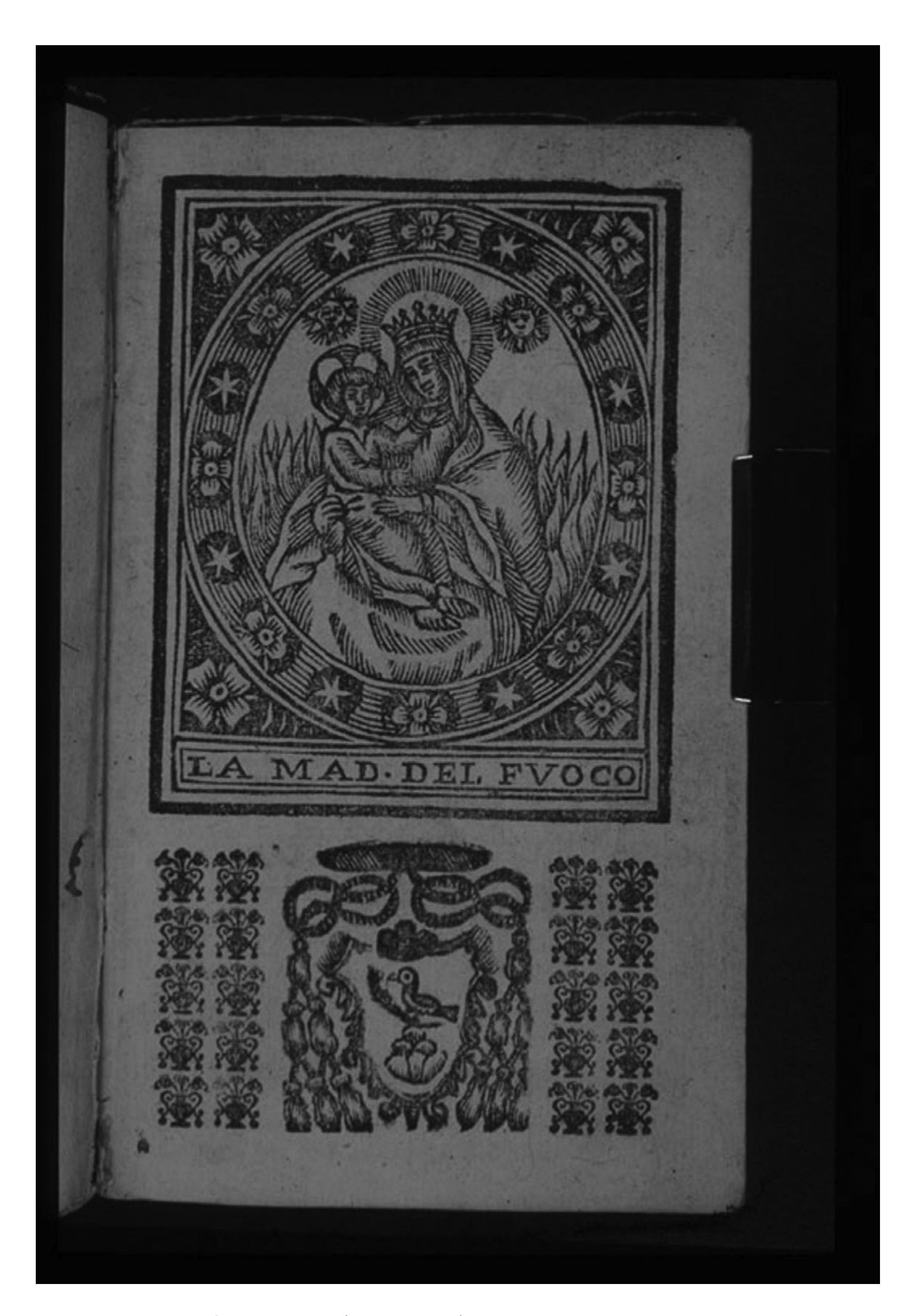
Ricceputi, the head chaplain and master of ceremonies of Forlì's cathedral, like Paleotti, a bishop, were among those specifically charged by the Council of Trent to diligently instruct the faithful on the proper veneration of sacred images.[378] Ricceputi's insistence, then, that for three days the Madonna of the Fire remained in the burning house, susceptible to the fire, yet miraculously unharmed by it, needs to be seen in the context of a post-Tridentine concern to ensure proper devotion, that is to say, devotion that is not reckless, nor any of the other four grades of abuse laid out by Paleotti.

Other parts of Ricceputi's text reflect his attention to the decrees of the Council of Trent. For example, Trent required:

> That the images . . . of the Virgin Mother of God . . . are to be placed and retained especially in the churches and that due honour and veneration is to be given them, not that any divinity or virtue is believed to be in them by reason of which they are to be venerated, . . . but because the honour which is shown them is referred to the prototypes which they represent.[379]

In other words, Mary is to be venerated through her images; her images are not to be venerated in themselves. Ricceputi, unlike Bezzi, is careful to emphasize this distinction repeatedly, stating, for example: "I do not intend to write here as an Academic, but as a man of religion . . . I seek in these few words [nothing] other than to imprint in the hearts of the faithful the true devotion to Virgin Mary in her images, and most of all in this one [the Madonna of the Fire] whose story I tell."[380]

Ricceputi's goal was to promote proper pious devotion to the Madonna, and his book, though titled *History of the Miraculous Image of the Virgin Mary known as the Madonna of the Fire*, is in fact not so much a history as a manual for prayer. The passages already quoted above are from the first section on the original miracle of the Madonna of the Fire. The next section of Ricceputi's book deals with the cult of the Madonna of the Fire, describing the rituals carried out on various occasions and feast days of the liturgical calendar. The third and final section offers some formulae for prayers for all occasions, including times of plague or drought or earthquake or vacancy of the Papal seat or war against the Infidels.[381] Ricceputi does this both by prescribing general behavior, like visiting the chapel of the Madonna of the Fire each evening, and by giving specific texts to be recited as prayers by her devotees.[382] Throughout the book, Ricceputi maintains his accustomed perspicuity: for instance, he notes that the woodcut captioned "*Madonna del Fuoco*" that is the sole illustration in his book (Fig. 52) differs from the miraculous image it represents in providing a throne of flames for the Madonna and Child in recognition of the events of February 4, 1428.[383]



52. *The Madonna of the Fire*, woodcut in Bartolommeo Ricceputi, *Istoria dell'Immagine Miracolosa . . . Detta La Madonna del Fuoco della Citta di Forlì*, Forlì, 1686. © The British Library Board. 4605.a.48

DOMESTIC CHURCH [*CHIESA DOMESTICA*]

Ricceputi's prudent emphasis on Lombardino da Ripetrosa's schoolhouse itself rather than the airspace above it was taken up by the people of Forlì. Though the Madonna of the Fire was removed from the ruined building immediately after the fire, the site itself retained its numinous aura. The street, now called via Leone Cobelli, was traditionally known as the "street of the fire" (*via del fuoco*) and the building there as the "house of the miracle" (*casa del miracolo*).[384] An early eighteenth-century commentator tells us that after Lombardino's schoolhouse had been consumed by the 1428 fire, it was promptly rebuilt, and Ricceputi himself, writing in 1686, indicated that processions of the Madonna of the Fire around the city often stopped at the site.[385]

Both the rebuilding of the "house of the miracle" and the processional events that took place there would have been overseen by the Congregation of the Holy Spirit, established in the late fifteenth century with eight priests charged with the care of the altar of the Madonna of the Fire in the cathedral.[386] As with other civic cults, such as the Madonna of Impruneta (Fig. 82) near Florence or the Madonna of San Luca and Madonna del Baraccano, both in nearby Bologna, laymen also assisted in the care of Forlì's Madonna of the Fire. A company of laymen, at first associated with the Congregation of the Holy Spirit, had developed into an independent lay confraternity dedicated to the Madonna of the Fire by 1567, when its statutes were written.[387] In 1606, a Vatican report described the Congregation of the Holy Spirit as having "priest-brothers" [*presbyos confratres*] and the lay confraternity as including women "who carry out not a few pious works"; by 1686 another such report indicated the lay confraternity had some three hundred male and female members.[388] In the same period, the so-called "sacristans" [*Mansionarii*] of the confraternity gained prominence as custodians of the Madonna of the Fire. Their number was increased in 1620, when Domenico Raimondi left a bequest obliging them to serve at the Madonna of the Fire's altar and expositions; a 1668 Vatican report stated there then were eight custodians.[389] These sacristans stood over the Madonna of the Fire between dusk and dawn and when it was carried through the city in processions, in which they had a privileged spot near the end of the parade.[390]

By the early seventeenth century, the most senior sacristan served as vice custodian of the Madonna of the Fire and lived in the house built over the ruins of the Lombardino da Ripetrosa's schoolhouse.[391] But a desire to honor the site of the miracle even more fully took hold, and in 1792, efforts to turn the house itself into a church, led the Bolognese Andrea Michelini to purchase the property from the confraternity and to prepare the site for construction of a new church there.[392] Napoleon's entrance into Forlì on the feast day of the Madonna of the Fire in 1797 and the subsequent disruption of religious and



53. Attributed to Antonio Gandolfi, *Miracle of the Madonna of the Fire*, Chiesina del Miracolo, Forlì.
Photo: author

civic life in the city halted work on the project.[393] In 1815, construction was taken up again, following neoclassical designs by architect Luigi Mirri, and the Church of the Miracle was finally completed and consecrated in 1819.[394]

The small building is quite different in shape and structure from Lombardino da Ripetrosa's schoolhouse: it has only a single story, organized in a domed centralized plan. The main altar holds a low relief in gesso of the Madonna and Child that had been found in the walls of the old house when it was torn down during the church's construction. The simple concave exterior facade of the church bears a lunette, likely frescoed by Antonio Gandolfi, with the scene of the fire that took place on that site on February 4, 1428 (Fig. 53). Like the similarly crescent-shaped panel showing the same miracle painted more than three centuries earlier by Giovanni di Mastro Pedrino (Plate III), Gandolfi's fresco shows the Madonna of the Fire hovering near the apex of the lunette and many citizens gathered to battle the flames, one climbing a ladder just left of center. Unlike that earlier work, the painting on the facade of the Church of the Miracle reduces both the color palette employed and the narrative details included: it is painted in tones from brown to burnt umber with ivory highlights. A more striking difference is that the entire pictorial field teems with images of the citizens' bodies bending, lifting, or turning to look at the undamaged icon above, flames stretched past either side of the sheet like phoenix wings, recalling Bezzi's soaring simile. Neither the scene of enshrinement nor

the schoolhouse that appears in Giovanni di Pedrino's lunette is depicted, for there is no need: the building itself sets the scene for the painted figures, embracing them as well as visitors approaching the church within its concave facade. In commemorating the Madonna of the Fire's survival of the blaze, the Church of the Miracle stands for and as the ruined house rebuilt. Thus, through its facade fresco and its resonant site, the church not only substitutes for Lombardino da Ripetrosa's schoolhouse, but, as a consecrated space, transfigures it.

As we have seen, images recognized as miraculous were often taken into churches or caused oratories and churches to be built at their discovery sites. But a domestic house itself venerated as sacred is a much rarer phenomenon, with only a single outstanding example: the Holy House of Loreto. In this exceptional case, the small building now in Loreto, a city south of Forlì, is recognized as the house in Nazareth in which Mary had lived before the birth of Jesus Christ and during his youth and which the Apostles themselves turned into a church after her dormition. According to legend, angels flew the house and the image of the Madonna and Child in it from Nazareth to Dalmatia in 1291 and then three years later across the Adriatic Sea to the eastern coast of the Italian peninsula.[395] First deposited on a road in the woods leading to the town of Recanati, then in a field nearby, the house finally was transported to its proper destination, where it is still enshrined today.

The oldest part of the Holy House of Loreto comprises three low sandstone walls enclosing a space thirty-one feet long and thirteen feet wide. Before the fourteenth century, a fourth wall was added, and the three oldest walls were extended in brickwork beyond their height of not quite seven feet and then frescoed during the fourteenth century. In the same century, protective walls were raised around the exterior of the structure; in 1507, Julius II began a campaign to replace these medieval walls with a splendid marble revetment, encasing Mary's house in a sculpted reliquary on an architectural scale. Bramante, Andrea Sansovino, Antonio da Sangallo, and others worked for more than seven decades to provide a rich sculptural program showing scenes from Mary's life and the angelic translation of the Holy House to Loreto to place over that building's exterior.[396]

Beginning in the late fifteenth century, the shrine at Loreto enjoyed a century of expansive papal patronage. Even before Julius II commissioned the marble encasement for the house itself, a basilica large enough to serve the priests and pilgrims and to contain their offerings was begun in 1469.[397] This basilica, still in use today, has a long nave that acts as the fourth arm of a three-lobed centralized space, further divided into subsidiary spaces (including a glorious sacristy frescoed in the late fifteenth century with images of angels and prophets by Forlì's most famous painter, Melozzo).[398] The Holy House sits at the crossing at the center of this centralized area, under a dome designed by Giuliano da Sangallo. Thus, the basilica at Loreto is like the early sixteenth-

century renovations of Verona cathedral, recently described by Alexander Nagel as hinging "on the relation of container and contained . . . a collaboration of macro- and micro-architecture": Mary's house, encased in a sixteenth-century marble revetment that resembles a casket reliquary magnified, is placed at the heart of a basilica with many chapels, itself part of a larger sanctuary complex, which also includes an apostolic palace across the piazza.[399]

But the fundamental issue in the Holy House of Loreto is not one of scale. Rather it is the encasing of what is understood as a Nazarene vernacular building within an Italian papal architecture of chapel and basilica, as well as a conjoining of ecclesiastical and domestic spaces. Early commentators on the Holy House emphasized its status as the very site of extraordinary and ordinary events in the lives of Mary and Jesus. Paralleling the exercise of "composition of place" given in Ignatius of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*, which instructed the faithful to imagine oneself present in "the corporeal place" of scenes from the Gospel, Orazio Torsellini's 1598 history of the Loreto shrine instructed its readers to contemplate the Annunciation during their prayers in the Holy House, which was recognized as the very place in which Gabriel had approached Mary.[400] In 1580, Girolamo Angelitta described the Holy House as "this great, holy and awe-inspiring place [in which] the living Christ, God and man, along with his Mother and disciples, had eaten, drank, slept, prayed."[401] In a 1669 sermon, Luigi Lazzari preached that "[Christ] lived here within, prayed here, slept here, ate here, thought here, worked here . . . Christ touched the Holy House infinite times."[402] And indeed early modern visitors had a poignant sense of how the Holy House had been the scene of the Holy Family's quotidian activities: in 1518, a Flemish silk merchant who came to Loreto wrote, "I could not tire of being inside the said chamber for I believe the blessed Jesus, when learning to walk, supported himself against the wall of the house."[403] As Pope John Paul II put it, the Holy House of Loreto is "the first and exemplary 'domestic church' [*chiesa domestica*] in history," resonant both as a house and as a church.[404]

Forlì's Church of the Miracle shares with Loreto's Holy House this sense that a domestic space has been elevated into a church: it, too, is a domestic church. But there is a fundamental difference. Though Giovanni di Mastro Pedrino wrote that after the fire "nothing remained but the walls" of the schoolhouse, there is no claim, as there is at Loreto, that any material from the original structure is still present. Rather, what remained unburned of Lombardino's schoolhouse was first built over in the fifteenth century and then removed entirely during the late eighteenth-century construction of the church.[405] Indeed there are two absences built into the Church of the Miracle: not only Lombardino's house but also the icon that had survived the fire there. The Madonna of the Fire was taken out of its ruins and translated to the cathedral immediately after the fire. The concavity of Luigi Mirri's facade, pulling the consecrated space back from the street even as its lateral sides reach out toward

an approaching visitor, succeeds in evoking this double absence. This encompassing gesture is echoed in a description of the church written twenty years after its consecration, in 1838, as having been built "*in* the very house where in 1428 the Image of the [Madonna of the Fire] remained unharmed by flames."[406] Though no material trace of the burned schoolhouse remains, the nineteenth-century church built in its place commemorates it and the blaze that revealed to the people of Forlì the miraculous nature of the Madonna of the Fire.

CHAPTER FIVE

ECCLESIASTICAL ENSHRINEMENT: THE CATHEDRAL OF FORLÌ

> And so in reverence to this supreme power, they built vast and impressive houses [*case*], which they further tried to distinguish in name as well as in form from those in which people dwelled; and they called them "temples" [*templi*].
>
> Boccaccio[407]

Boccaccio makes clear the general distinction between house and church: the former is a structure for mundane human living, whereas the latter, separated by name as well as form, serve as dwellings for the divine. Forlì's Little Church of the Miracle is a rare case in which that distinction was bridged, by transfiguring Lombardino da Ripetrosa's lost house into a church consecrated four centuries after the February 4, 1428 fire had destroyed it. Immediately after the fire had been fully extinguished, there was not yet any thought of building a church in the smouldering remains of Lombardino's schoolhouse. Rather, the unburned woodcut, now recognized as a miraculous image, was quickly removed and taken to a church, that space distinct from ordinary houses, and not just any church but Forlì's cathedral.

Churches specially built to honor other miraculous Marian icons at Todi, Prato, and Montepulciano in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were given autonomy from local parish and episcopal authority and put under direct communal control through papal fiat, but the situation in Forlì was more complex.[408] By being placed in Forlì's cathedral, the seat of the city's bishop, the Madonna of the Fire and its emerging cult was supported by pope, bishop, and commune. Negotiations between these three parties were constant, and at times fraught, during the centuries-long construction and

furnishing of the cathedral and the chapel for the Madonna of the Fire within it. Issued just four decades after the fire, Pope Paul II's 1468 bull granting indulgences to devoted visitors to the chapel is perhaps our earliest indication of balancing of powers: the pope expressly forbade Forlì's bishop, its chapter (which elected the bishop), or the chapel's rector from spending these pilgrims' donations on anything but the repair, maintenance, or decoration of the chapel itself.[409] Echoing Boccaccio's assertion that a church should be "vast and impressive," Paul II also declared his wish that the Madonna of the Fire's chapel grow in importance and beauty. This chapter examines the enshrinement and embellishment of the Madonna of the Fire as a prime example of what André Vauchez called "civic religion": the sometimes contested interplay between communal and ecclesiastical agency in the ritual and institutional placement of the Madonna of the Fire in Forlì's cathedral.[410]

THE CATHEDRAL OF FORLÌ

In February 1428, Forlì's cathedral was still more of an active construction zone than a complete building. In a major construction campaign that was only gaining momentum in 1424, the cathedral was being rebuilt and expanded from a small twelfth-century church on the site. Two years before the fire that signalled the miraculous nature of the Madonna of the Fire, in 1426, foundations for the four columns marking the cathedral's new presbytery were prepared; work on the vaulted roof and bell towers continued fitfully through the century. The main portal was erected in 1465 and survives today as the entrance to Forlì's Carmelite church (where it was installed in 1841 when the fifteenth-century cathedral was demolished for the present building).[411] The cathedral was finally consecrated a decade later, on May 27, 1475.[412]

Two events in the first half of the fifteenth century spurred the cathedral's construction campaign. One was the fire of February 4, 1428 itself, for the growth of a local cult to the Madonna of the Fire made a proper shrine in the cathedral a necessity. The second was the appointment of papal legate Domenico Caprancia (1400–58) as governor of Forlì on June 5, 1426. Capranica vigorously supported the construction of the cathedral during his tenure, and his coat-of-arms, sculpted on one of the early columns in the fifteenth-century building attests to his active patronage.[413] Educated at Padua and Bologna, the young Capranica was then at the start of a brilliant political and ecclesiastical career: Pope Martin V had already made Capranica apostolic administrator of Fermo and designated him cardinal before he arrived in Forlì on June 14, 1426. He continued to flourish in the decades

after his appointment in Forlì: in 1449 he was named Grand Penitentiary and Archpriest of Saint John in the Lateran, and in 1457 founded Capranica College in his own residence in Rome to educate indigent young clerics in theology and canon law.[414]

As governor of Forlì, Capranica not only supported the construction of the cathedral, but he also took part in the enshrinement of the Madonna of the Fire in it. Bezzi's book, *The Triumphal Fire*, describes Capranica's actions on the night of February 4, 1428:

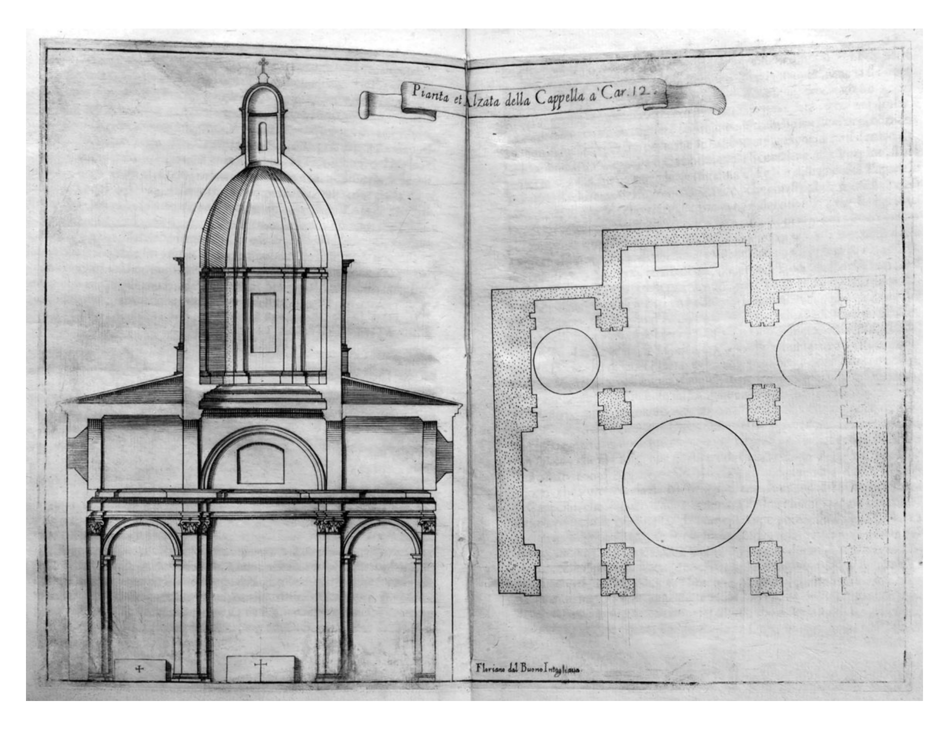
> The miracle, in an instant pulled the eyes of all the people [*tutto il Popolo*] to itself, and reached the ears of Monsignor Domenico Capranica. . . . [This] devoted prelate ran towards the clamor of many voices spreading from the marvel of such a stupendous sight. Amazement filled [Caprancia's] eyes, but did not slow his steps, which did not stop until the marvelous Paper had redeemed the flames, depriving that senseless element its taste by showing itself to have been kissed rather than bitten [by the fire]. . . . Everything ended happily, [and the print was] carried in procession into the Cathedral of Santa Croce, accompanied by all the people [*tutto il Popolo*].[415]

Bezzi fills this passage with his usual vivid language, contrasting the witnesses' powers of seeing and hearing with the "senseless" flames. Bezzi also highlights communal action, repeating the phrase "all the people" twice, and suggesting that Capranica was drawn to the scene by the clamour of locals. Given the book's dedication to Cardinal Francesco Barberini, whose brother Antonio would become cardinal protector of Capranica College six years after its publication, in 1641, it is no surprise that Bezzi amply praises Capranica as devout and properly amazed by the miracle. This due reverence to papal authority is balanced with an acknowledgment of communal power in his description of the local crowd as instigators of Capranica's actions. Bezzi's emphasis on the agency of "all the people" of Forlì is unusual, in that the first witnesses of miracles resulting in the foundation of a new Marian cult are often socially marginalized members of society, such as shepherds, children, or servants.[416] Bezzi thus inverts the structure of the typical miracle narrative, instead positioning the elite but newly arrived foreigner Capranica as marginal to the cohesive local community.[417] Bezzi not only invokes Forlì's entire population without regard to social or economic status, but he also suggests that the devotion to the Madonna of the Fire is a civic cult that begins at the grassroots level, rather than emanating from the papal representative. Bezzi's emphasis can be contrasted to the earlier account given in Giovanni Pansecco's fifteenth-century Latin manuscript chronicle: "Domenico Caprancia decided that the Image should be carried [*Effigiem . . . deferendam censuit*] into the church of the Holy Cross, and the Archdeacons, canons and others,

[carried out] his command [*cuius praecepto*]."[418] In Pansecco's telling, unlike that by Bezzi, the people of Forlì merely followed Capranica's orders in carrying the icon into the cathedral.

The Madonna of the Fire was first taken to the chapel to the right of the main altar, where the current cathedral's baptistery is now. This chapel was then dedicated to Saint Bartholomew, and it had an earlier dedication to Saint Agatha when it formed part of the twelfth-century church. It is thought that one reason this chapel was chosen is that the fire began on the vigil of Saint Agatha's feast day (February 5), but given the fact that in 1428 the cathedral itself was undergoing active construction, the earliest installation of the Madonna of the Fire must have also been driven by logistics and been provisional at best. Nonetheless, the growth in local devotion to the Madonna of the Fire is marked by a number of bequests made during the course of the fifteenth century, and by the time Andrea di Giovanni Lerri di Forlì wrote his testament in 1451, he referred to the chapel, not of Saint Bartholomew, but "of the Madonna of the Fire."[419] A papal bull bestowed by Paul II in 1468 confirms that the chapel was not known by its old dedication, but as the Madonna of the Fire's chapel, and offers indulgences to pilgrims who visit the chapel and "stretch out helping hands towards the restoration of the buildings and the purchase of vestments and ornaments" for the chapel.[420] In addition to the icon itself, the chapel would have held an altarpiece, likely a triptych depicting Mary flanked by Saints Bartholomew and Agatha, surmounted by the crescent-shaped panel painted by Giovanni di Mastro di Pedrino showing the miracle of the fire (Plate III). An inventory from 1460 is fragmentary, but it includes a curtain and two veils *ante dictam Imaginem*, indicating that the icon was usually covered and hidden from general view.[421] Indeed, by the end of the fifteenth century, the Madonna of the Fire was regularly unveiled once a month when the eight priests of the Congregation of the Holy Spirit would sing the mass in the chapel.[422]

In the late fifteenth century, around the time the Congregation of the Holy Spirit was being established, another miracle-working image of Mary was recognized in Forlì, this one a fresco known both as the Madonna della Ferita (the Madonna of the Wound) or the Madonna della Canonica. In 1490, an impious man (sometimes described as a gambler with a dagger) struck this image, painted on an exterior wall of the canons' residence near the cathedral, and Mary's face began to bleed. The topos of a bleeding image of the Madonna is a common one, echoing for instance that of the much older Marian icon in Rome, which was later enshrined in the new church of Santa Maria in Vallicella, and the Neapolitan Madonna of the Arch enshrined in the late sixteenth century. In Forlì, the Madonna della Canonica was taken to the cathedral, where for at least four decades the Madonna of the Fire had been venerated in its own chapel. Caterina Sforza, then ruling Forlì as regent for her young son Ottaviano after her husband's murder in 1488, was instrumental in raising funds and ecclesiastical support for a new chapel for the Madonna della Canonica.[423]



54. Floriano dal Buono, *The Chapel of the Madonna of the Fire*, engraving in Bezzi, *Il fuoco trionfante* (Forlì, 1637). National Gallery of Art Library, Washington, DC

Novacula tells us that four men, two canons who lived in the residence where the mural was painted, and two laymen were elected to take care of the Marian icon, and they decided to enclose the image "so that bad men could no longer harm it, as had happened in the past" [*che li cative homine più no ie potese nocere come avevano fatte per lo tenpo pasato*]. Construction began on September 27, 1490: walls began to rise in 1493 and vaulting the ceiling was begun in 1497. On the first Sunday in August 1497, the first mass was said in the chapel, even as construction continued with the cladding of the walls with Levantine marble that had arrived in nineteen boats. The structure seems to have been built from the east end toward the west, and it seems to have originally been an independent structure over the site of the original frescoed wall in the alley between the cathedral and the Piazza Maggiore. The chapel eventually grew until it reached the cathedral edifice, oriented at a slight angle to the fifteenth-century nave.[424]

The chapel for the Madonna della Canonica was designed by the Forlivese architect, Pace di Maso del Bambace (ca. 1440–1500).[425] The chapel, which survives (with some changes) in the current nineteenth-century building, has an almost square footprint with four piers supporting a central octagonal drum and dome. Two of the piers are in line with the east side of the nave, and the main altar is situated in a niche extending to the east. For our purposes, it is most

important as an early model for the Madonna of the Fire's chapel, which was planned a century and a half later across the nave to extend to the west (Fig. 54). This twinning of the two chapels was fully intentional, perhaps inspired by the Roman example of the Pauline Chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore, which was built opposite the Chapel of Sixtus V and into which the Salus Populi Romani icon was enshrined in 1613.[426]

Giuliano Bezzi tells us that "the people of Forlì [*il Popolo Forlivese*] . . . resolved then to build a noble chapel in the same cathedral, opposite the other, quite sumptuous one of the Most Holy Madonna della Canonica on the same model, as was done with such little divergence that the harmony between them is not broken."[427] Indeed, the desire for the two chapels to be identical was so great that in 1651 after construction of the Madonna of the Fire's chapel had been completed, the roles of model and copy were reversed, and the rounded niche containing the altar in the Canonica chapel was squared off so as to ensure it would be "uniform with that of . . . the Madonna of the Fire."[428] Even before this mid-century modification, the two chapels were often paired in official descriptions of the cathedral sent to the Vatican. For example, in 1639, shortly after the completion of the Madonna of the Fire's chapel, a Vatican report on the cathedral highlighted "two marble [chapels] through which you see the extraordinary miracles which this city has been granted, the first of which is dedicated to the Blessed Virgin called 'della Canonica' and the other to the Virgin Mary called 'of the Fire.'"[429]

NEGOTIATIONS WITH ROME

If there was internal harmony in the mirroring between the two chapels dedicated to the Virgin Mary, one extending to the west for the Madonna of the Fire, the other extending to the east for the Madonna della Canonica, the processes of receiving permission and gathering funds to build the former were a struggle. The chapel for the Madonna della Canonica had been built under the aegis of Caterina Sforza, who ruled Forlì between 1488 and 1500 as her son's regent.[430] In contrast, the chapel for the Madonna of the Fire was planned and built while Forlì was one of the Papal States, ruled from Rome at a moment when the bureaucracy of papal administration was being expanded and centralized. As a result, the enshrinement of the Madonna of the Fire was enmeshed in fraught negotiations about civic and papal authority. This type of assertion of local cults, especially ones based within city walls, in the face of growing papal involvement also took place in nearby Bologna.[431] Nicholas Terpstra, following Angela De Benedictis, called Bologna a "republic by contract," due to the continual balancing of civic power and papal sovereignty, achieved through contractual negotiations between local and Roman elites.[432]

The state of constant negotiation between local and papal authority was similar in Forlì. In 1504, Julius II's definitive conquest of Romagna put Forlì under direct papal control once again; after this the city would never regain its political autonomy. That year Pope Julius sent a set of statutes instituting the city's general council, private council, and papal governor or legate; that local governmental structure remained in place, reconfirmed with successive popes with some modifications through the eighteenth century.[433] In 1592, Pope Clement VIII established the fiscal organ of the papal curia known as the Congregation of Good Government, charged with overseeing the economic activity throughout the Papal States as part of what Mauro Carboni called "a remarkable effort to assert fiscal sovereignty and to cast a more effective fiscal net across Papal lands."[434] Paul IV extended the Congregation's jurisdiction in 1605, with the goal of reducing the outstanding debt of the various communes in the Papal States.[435] Unlike Bologna, which was able to secure exemption from the jurisdiction of the Congregation of Good Government in 1592, Forlì was subject to its control.[436] Thus, when in the second decade of the seventeenth century Forlì was eager to build a new chapel for the Madonna of the Fire, it met a vigorous papal bureaucracy mobilized to reduce local overexpenditure.[437]

The Congregation of Good Government required local leaders in each jurisdiction of the Papal States to provide an annual budget plan known as the *tabella* in which all income and ordinary as well as extraordinary expenses for the coming year were listed. This budget plan would be reviewed and approved or adjusted by the congregation; actual surpluses had to be remitted to Rome.[438] Ordinary expenses were categorized as *necessariae*, *utiles*, or *voluptuariae;* those beyond the "necessary" were given close scrutiny and often rejected.[439] Extraordinary expenses could not exceed a given amount each year. In Forlì, there was a municipal comptroller appointed yearly (the *Regolatore*) who was in charge of extraordinary expenses recorded in six bimonthly accounts. The annual budget plan had a provision of 2000 lire for these expenditures, which could include, for instance, the lodging of soldiers or visitors from the papal curia; maintenance of major bridges and the Palazzo Pubblico; and (as we shall see in Chapter 7) the building of public monuments, such as the Column of the Madonna of the Fire.[440]

On January 28, 1618, Forlì's General Council agreed to elect men to oversee the "building of the new chapel that must be erected in the cathedral in honor of the Most Holy and Miraculous image of the Virgin Mary known as the Madonna of the Fire, protectress of the City."[441] Six months later, on June 10, 1618, the council officially resolved to build a chapel dedicated to the Madonna of the Fire.[442] The extraordinary expense of a proposed thousand scudi from public funds for a new chapel had to be approved by the Congregation of Good Government, which had in earlier years approved public construction in other municipalities, all using surpluses from their annual

budgets.[443] Forlì's proposal was brought before the Congregation of Good Government by their agent, an official based in Rome who had been approved by the Congregation who was charged with facilitating a city's timely submission of the annual budgets and monitoring its prompt payment of debts to the papal curia.[444] In their letter of July 8, 1618 to their agent, Forlì's councilors emphasized "the universal desire of the whole of this people [*desiderio universal di tutto questo Popolo*] for building the chapel of the Madonna of the Fire."[445]

They received a quick reply from the Congregation of Good Government denying permission on the basis of recent debts and expenditures. On the northwest side of the city, work to rebuild the gate in the city walls known as the Porta di Schiavonia was in progress, and a new stone bridge over the Montone River nearby had been recently completed. The first stone for the Schiavonia Bridge had been laid in 1610, and, as surviving account books show, work continued through the summer of 1613. These civic construction projects were paid for through surpluses in the annual municipal budgets, which had been augmented by special three-year tariffs imposed in 1609 to cover those costs, as well as expenses associated with the terrible famines that had hit Romagna in the preceding years.[446] In July 1613, the city of Forlì requested a three-year renewal of the tariffs "hoping . . . with a few more sure surpluses in the budget, to free itself from this burden when the bridge will be paid off, which will be soon."[447]

Despite this optimistic projection, the Porta di Schiavonia had already become an expensive project and a fraught political issue between Cardinal Domenico Rivarola and the city.[448] Cardinal Rivarola had arrived in Ravenna as papal legate of Romagna on July 2, 1612, and though early discussion of the project in late summer 1613 referred only to external modifications to the preexisting gate "to give a better view of the new [Schiavonia] bridge" then nearing completion,[449] Rivarola, according to late seventeenth-century local historian Sigismondo Marchesi, wanted instead to replace the Porta Schiavonia with a new city gate that would be called Porta Rivarola in his honor. The city sought control of the situation by making use of its private council (*Consiglio segreto*), which unlike its general council, met in the absence of papal representatives. In Marchesi's words:

> Seeing the exorbitant expense [of 5000 scudi for the new gate] and no longer able to tolerate it, [Forlì's private council] informed the pope and the Congregation of Good Government about the whole matter, sending a copy of the report to each of the cardinals and prelates of the Congregation.[450]

As Francesca Nanni has demonstrated, the citizens of Forlì adroitly used its private and general councils, as well as letters and ambassadors to both the papal legate in Ravenna and the city's agent in Rome to delay matters until summer 1616, when funds and materials were finally set aside for a new city gate.

However, in January 1618, the gate was still unfinished, and it became clear that the funds allocated were insufficient and its budget ill-managed with Cardinal Rivarola at times approving expenditures without consultation with Forlì's councils.[451]

Given this as yet incomplete project as well as the determination of the Congregation of Good Government to hold down local expenditures, it is easy to see why Forlì's July 1618 request to begin a new chapel for the Madonna of the Fire was denied. Quickly, Forlì remobilized. On July 11, the city council resolved to reapply for permission "as many times as will be necessary" [*quante volte sarà necessario*] and to use whatever channels necessary to do so.[452] The council members had two basic strategies, which addressed both aspects of the pope's double role as sacred and temporal ruler.[453] The first – to argue that the lack of a suitably magnificent chapel for the Madonna of the Fire was itself a major debt that demanded payment – was put into action immediately. The day after the resolution was passed, the council wrote to their agent in Rome, expressing its "infinite displeasure" at hearing the negative response, adding that "as the Congregation [of Good Government] says, one must pay one's debts: the chapel should be built without any further delay, as this is the city's oldest debt" and instructing him to make the request again.[454] That same date, July 12, 1618, the council sent a letter to Cardinal Rivarola, humbly asking for his support and arguing that the construction of the chapel was "the city's principal debt, with this Immaculate Virgin [now] finding itself in a narrow and poor little chapel."[455]

In that same letter of July 12 to Cardinal Rivarola, the councilors also employed their second strategy of demonstrating that the municipal debt was in fact under control, stating that the effort to build the chapel would not hold up the ongoing construction of the Porta di Schiavonia. A third letter, also using both strategies, was sent the following week on July 19, 1618, when the council wrote to Cardinal Scipione Borghese, nephew of Pope Paul V. The powerful Cardinal-Nephew Borghese, president of the Congregation of Good Government, had been long been active in local affairs, including the negotiations about construction of the Porta Schiavonia.[456] In the proposal attached to their letter, the council pointed out both "the indecency of the poor chapel in which [the Madonna of the Fire now] is found," and also the inspiration the thousand scudi would be to "private gentlemen citizens, and all the people" to donate sums as large as their circumstances permitted, for the construction.[457]

The council instructed their agent to resubmit the request on 2 August 1618.[458] That same date, they also wrote another Roman contact addressed as "Signor Asti" to ask him to accompany the agent when request was resubmitted.[459] The city had called upon Asti the year before for support regarding the ongoing construction of the Porta di Schiavonia, and Forlì's private council had thanked him on March 30, 1617 for his "diligence and honorable efforts" on the city's behalf in that matter.[460] He may have been a member of the noble family

that had been resident in Forlì since at least the fourteenth century and possibly a relative of the "dottor" Giovanni Battista Asti who served on Forlì's General Council between 1616 and 1618.[461]

Given this intense month of lobbying their contacts in Rome, their papal legate in Ravenna, and the Cardinal-Nephew himself, the second rejection of their proposal from the Congregation of Good Government must have stung. On August 9, 1618, the council wrote to their agent, exclaiming that:

> the displeasure not only of this Council but of the whole of this people has been doubled upon hearing that all the lords of the Congregation persist in the opinion of not wanting to grant the license to use the thousand scudi for the new chapel of the Madonna [of the Fire]. Because we imagine that this duplicate denial is based on the Congregation thinking that [Forlì] has a very grave debt, it seems to us necessary to make them know that it is not like that, because its debt has shrunk, as can be seen in the enclosed balance sheet, to 4345 scudi . . . and if it had not been for the building of the new Porta [di Schiavonia] it would have been almost paid off.[462]

It was a bad week for the Forlivese: on August 4, in an effort to ensure funding for the Porta di Schiavonia, Cardinal Rivarola seized control of the city's liquid funds, which were not to be spent without his approval.[463]

On August 23, 1618, the council wrote their Roman agent with renewed hope, stating that he "could not believe with what desire and expectation this license for funds to erect the Madonna of the Fire's chapel" was awaited and suggesting an ambassador to explain their difficult financial situation.[464] At the same time, they focused their efforts, on August 25 postponing a request to the Congregation of Good Government for funds to build a Jesuit-run poorhouse in their city until the ongoing negotiations for the chapel were concluded.[465] But in early September, funding for the chapel remained entangled with that of the Porta Schiavonia, in particular the associated costs of strengthening another bridge in order to be able to transport construction materials for the new gate.[466]

This discouraging state of affairs made Cardinal Borghese's request of September 26, 1618 all the more welcome: the Congregation of Good Government asked Forlì's General Council and bishop to confirm their support for the building of the chapel.[467] The city moved quickly and on October 7, the council informed its agent that it had sent to Rome all that had been requested.[468] Finally on November 17, 1618, Cardinal Borghese responded that "having seen the proposal made many times by this community," the General Council would be allowed to spend 1000 scudi of Forlì's budget surplus on the new chapel.[469] Just a week later, on November 24, the council elected overseers for the construction, and, five days after that, the council invited architect Domenico Paganelli to visit the site in order to draw up designs for a "sumptuous" chapel

for the Madonna of the Fire.[470] By August 9, 1619, beyond the thousand scudi given by the general council, private donations ranging from four hundred scudi to sums so small they were unrecorded were collected, while the city's confraternities – as well as parishes beyond Forlì – had made donations in cash and in kind.[471] And less than ten months after the city received permission from the Congregation of Good Government to spend a thousand scudi on the chapel, on September 7, 1619, the first stone was laid by Forlì's bishop, Cesare Bartolelli, in a solemn ceremony.[472]

With the death of Pope Paul V in 1621, Cardinal Domenico Rivarola's appointment as papal legate of Romagna came to an end, and construction of the new Porta di Schiavonia languished. A mass of quarried stone had been delivered to the banks of the Ronco River and then provisionally stored near the Porta di Schiavonia beginning in 1622; in 1626, builders working on the cathedral's sacristy requested permission from the General Council to use some of the stones for their construction.[473] The fortunes of the Porta di Schiavonia and the chapel for the Madonna of the Fire continued to be intertwined, this time materially rather than fiscally. On May 8, 1633, the overseers of the chapel came to a meeting of the General Council in person "to seek as an act of charity to the Most Holy Madonna a few stones from the Porta di Schiavonia [project] that are needed to give the finishing touches to [the Chapel of the Madonna of the Fire]." The proposal was made to give "absolutely all the stones needed" to complete the chapel, except for ones already promised elsewhere.[474] On the same date three years later, as the city was planning the procession to bring the Madonna of the Fire to her new chapel, the city's Private Council passed a proposal to have her image painted on the new Porta di Schiavonia.[475] Thus, on the city gate where Cardinal Rivarola had once hoped his family coat-of-arms would appear, the image of the Madonna of the Fire was painted instead.

FRAMING DEVOTION IN THE CHAPEL AND AT HOME

Final preparations for the furnishing of the new chapel continued. A few short weeks later on July 1, 1636, the comptroller Paolo Ronchi noted in his account of extraordinary expenses that 4 lire had been paid to Stefano Bedolino for large sheets of paper [*carta reale*] on which to draw the design for a tabernacle for the Madonna of the Fire "to be sent to Bologna." One lira and change was paid to the postman to send that design to Bologna where it would be made.[476] Bedolino was a man of many talents: he signed a drawing, now in the British Library, proposing a new canal to connect the city of Cervia to the sea;[477] he designed and executed a fireworks display representing the Rubicon for the entrance of Cristina of Sweden into Forlì on November 30, 1655;[478] and he is credited with the architecture of a chapel in the church of San

Giacomo and the reworking of a chapel designed by Antonio Castellani in San Filippo, both in Forlì.[479] Bedolini may have been part of the noble family that since 1502 had a family chapel dedicated to Santo Stefano in the church of San Girolamo in Forlì.[480] His best-known accomplishment is a manuscript anthology of chronicles of Forlì, probably compiled around 1619.[481] The manuscript contains some drawings – of the city's coat of arms, the oratory known as the Crocetta that stood in the Piazza Maggiore, and a group of soldiers – that show him to be a careful draftsman who generally first laid in blind rulings with a stylus, then drew in pen and ink, often finishing with a wash applied by brush. The design Bedolini drew was not his own invention, but the work of the much sought after Forlivese architect, Francesco Brunelli (1572–1635), whose often-interrupted work on this project had first begun some two decades earlier.[482]

The drawing sent to Bologna in 1636 is lost, as is the tabernacle for the Madonna of the Fire that was made from it. The current tabernacle in gilded bronze and lapis lazuli (Fig. 55; further discussed in Chapter 8) was made in 1718 by Giovanni Giardini as part of the renovation of the chapel commissioned by the Forlivese cardinal, Fabrizio Paolucci.[483] It is known that Francesco Brunelli, the designer of the original tabernacle, was in Rome around 1610 to work on the carved furnishings for the sacristy of the Gesù church, so it is to be expected that his design share some basic features with early seventeenth-century Roman tabernacles for Marian icons that were being made in those years. Indeed, Giuliano Bezzi reports that, like the 1613 tabernacle by Giovanni Battista Crescenzi and Giralomo Rainaldi at Santa Maria Maggiore or the one completed in 1614 by Carlo Maderno in Santa Maria della Pace, Brunelli's tabernacle in Forlì enclosed its icon within an architectonic frame of four Corinthian columns, an entablature, and a pediment, though made of alabaster and gilded wood, rather than the jasper and colored marbles of those Roman exemplars.[484] Brunelli's tabernacle was topped by a huge golden fire held aloft by two cupids; two other gilded angels appeared to support the icon itself, while yet another pair sat to either side holding golden flames in their hands. As in the other tabernacles for miraculous Marian icons, Brunelli's angels enacted a sacred narrative: though we have no evidence that they were shown pulling back curtains to reveal a veiled icon as happens in various Tuscan cases, the closest pair held "a great diadem in the act of crowning" the Madonna of the Fire, while the others bear flames recalling the miracle of February 4, 1428.[485] Thus, the angelic company was frozen in an act of embellishing the Madonna of the Fire and also took part in the larger narrative eventually completed in 1706. Carlo Cignani's fresco in the chapel's dome unveiled in that same year represented Mary's Assumption into heaven, and if Brunelli's sculpted angels do not bear the enframed Marian icon upwards (as happens with the Salus Populi Romani icon in Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome), their gesture of crowning



55. Giovanni Giardini, *Tabernacle for the Madonna of the Fire*. Gilt bronze and lapis lazuli, 1718. Chapel of the Madonna of the Fire, Cathedral of Santa Croce, Forlì

Mary is echoed by the figures painted in the dome above them.[486] As Ippolito Zanelli wrote in 1722, Cignani's fresco highlighted Mary's coronation in heaven:

> The Holy Trinity waited on high to crown [Mary] with stars. The heavenly host and all the Old and New Testament saints offered the great Madonna crowns appropriate to their station and indicative of her qualities. . . . In the name of the Patriarchs, Abraham offered an olive wreath, showing the Virgin as mediatrix of peace between God and Man . . . David [offered] a crown of laurel as a sign of her immortal triumph, . . . Melchisedech carried a crown of grapes and ears of wheat, . . . Saint Stephen, leader of all the martyrs, offered a crown of palm, . . . John the

> Baptist, a crown of lilies, and Saint Michael carried a crown of flames for all the archangels, to signify their burning love and the dedication of the [chapel].[487]

Thus, the entire chapel repeatedly reenacted the coronation of the Virgin – from the Madonna of the Fire itself as a printed image of a crowned Virgin Mary, enshrined in a tabernacle that featured sculpted angels extending diadems toward the icon, to a dome overhead frescoed with many figures offering crowns to Mary, Queen of Heaven.[488]

The diadem-bearing angels designed by Brunelli no longer greet today's visitor, but Giovanni Giardini's eighteenth-century tabernacle repeated the theme by replacing those figures with a colossal crown that appears to hover on its own above the enframed icon (Fig. 55). Both Giardini's tabernacle and the earlier one designed by Brunelli did the work of making the vital first transition between the Madonna of the Fire and the larger structure of enshrinement that framed it. As Megan Holmes has demonstrated, the entire cultic environment surrounding an icon in a chapel – the micro-architectural structures built around it, the veils and curtains that covered or revealed it, the votive offerings that were left for it, and the precious lamps and candelabra that illuminated it – richly enveloped a miraculous image and its pious viewer alike to produce a space for proper veneration.[489] As with other Baroque chapels, for instance, in the Roman churches of San Andrea al Quirinale or Santa Maria Maggiore, the chapel of the Madonna of the Fire featured a great variety of materials – gilded stucco and fresco, alabaster and gilt wood in addition to the "rich stone" [*pietra rica*] that was used to "encrust" the chapel's interior [*incrosti dentro*] – to present the printed icon to its visitors within what Giovanni Careri has called, in reference to Bernini, a "beautiful whole" [*bel composto*].[490]

The material richness of a chapel, such as the one for the Madonna of the Fire, served to signal the venerability of the enshrined icon. Gabrielle Paleotti, the influential author of the 1582 *Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images* suggested "that for greater veneration of sacred pictures, gold and precious ornaments are useful."[491] A magnificent enshrinement structure materially elevated the paper icon enclosed within and visually signaled its numinous power, just as a sacred shard of bone or scrap of cloth was "ennobled" (as Paulinus of Nola put it) by its containment in a bejeweled reliquary.[492] Gleaming and glittering in flickering candlelight, the gilt angels would seem enlivened in their act of crowning the Madonna, while the lustrous innermost surfaces of the tabernacle visually almost melt away, dematerializing into a radiant aureole around the icon.[493]

This transformative vision made possible by enshrinement does not prioritize high visibility of the icon so enclosed, and the Florentine priors of the Madonna of Impruneta went so far as to say, "Sacred objects . . . are normally respected and held in greater reverence if they are rarely seen."[494] Salvific presence manifested by rich enshrinement often trumped seeing the icon itself. As Megan

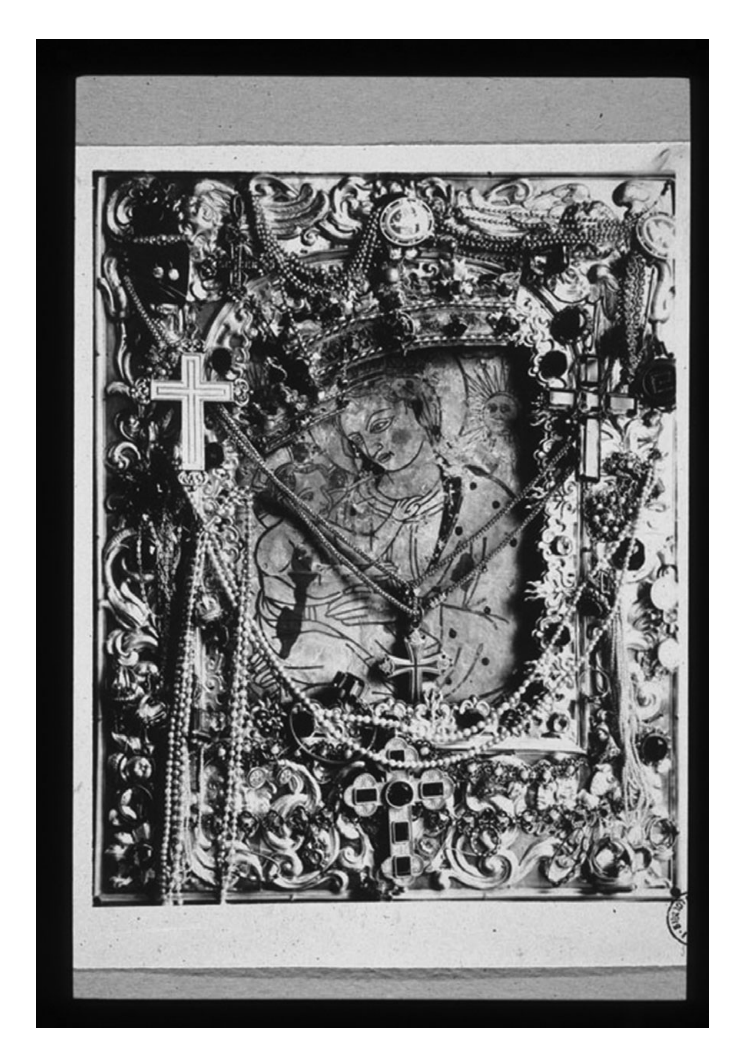
Holmes noted, an unseen icon whose presence was signaled by rich enshrinement could seem especially elevated and potent in its invisibility.[495] Indeed, Daniel Papebroch, a Jesuit from Antwerp who traveled through Forlì en route to Rome in November 1660, would describe the chapel's architecture and furnishings, but not the Madonna of the Fire itself: "[In the chapel of the Madonna of the Fire] there is a gilded wooden altar, worked with mastery. This chapel exceeds [that of the Madonna della Canonica] because its dome and side walls are sublimely worked in paint and gilding, whereas in the other chapel everything is bare." Papebroch's travel diary does not at all describe how the Madonna of the Fire looked or had been made, noting only in passing that it got its name "from the fire in which it stayed without injury."[496] Papebroch's attention to the entire "sublimely worked" enshrinement structure manifested to him the Madonna of the Fire's potent presence, even without seeing the likely veiled icon itself.[497] In adopting this visual strategy, he is far from a modern museum viewer who, in Germain Bazin's words, visually contemplates single "statues . . . isolated in space, paintings hung far apart, a glittering jewel placed against a field of black velvet and spot-lighted, . . . only one object at a time . . . in the field of vision."[498]

Unlike the twentieth-century museum goer described by Bazin, early modern visitors to the Chapel of the Madonna of the Fire may have considered seeing the icon itself a distraction or worse: it seems at least one seventeenth-century viewer in Forlì considered it better not to look at all at the Madonna of the Fire or even its new, richly decorated chapel. Fabrizio dall'Aste (1606–55), who founded a congregation of Oratorians of Filippo Neri in Forlì on the Madonna of the Fire's feast day in 1650, is praised at the end of the seventeenth century for being so humble that:[499]

> he trained himself not to raise his eyes when he entered and stopped to pray in [the newly completed Chapel of the Madonna of the Fire] which had been built through the magnanimous piety of the people of Forlì. . . . Fabrizio went there frequently to adore that sacred and miraculous image, to which he was most devoted, and although nature implants in everyone's heart a certain impatient desire to see the happy outcome of his city's efforts in public building . . . [that] Servant of God broke himself of that natural inclination with the rein of mortification so he would not permit his eyes to look upon that enchanting work . . . and would have spent all the years of his life without having lifted his gaze.[500]

According to this anecdote, Fabrizio dall'Aste considered praying to the Madonna of the Fire in the chapel with his eyes averted to be most appropriate.

Even for those viewers willing to look, the elaborate encasement, rich crowns, and other pious decorations placed over and around the Madonna of the Fire in order to embellish it also all but obscured its image from sight (Fig. 56). A view of the *Madonna of the Fire* in its chapel just after a mass during the week of



56. Madonna of the Fire enshrined. Early-twentieth-century photograph. Fondo Piancastelli, Biblioteca Comunale "Aurelio Saffi," Forlì.
Photo: Liverani

February 4, 2001 (Fig. 57) shows just how hard it is to see; early modern viewers were similarly handicapped by the thick materiality of enshrinement. Bartolomeo Ricceputi, the chaplain of the Cathedral who decried Giuliano Bezzi's account of the miracle, interrupted his own description of the Madonna of the Fire to comment that he could not see the saints flanking the central image of the Madonna and Child: they had been covered by a rich frame of silver and precious stones, part of the tabernacle designed by Francesco Brunelli and drawn by Stefano Bedolino in 1636.[501]

Yet for Ricceputi, as for Fabrizio dall'Aste, the physical act of seeing the Madonna of the Fire was not the main concern. Adding sound to the sensorium of veneration, Ricceputi instructed his readers: "When hearing the bells for a



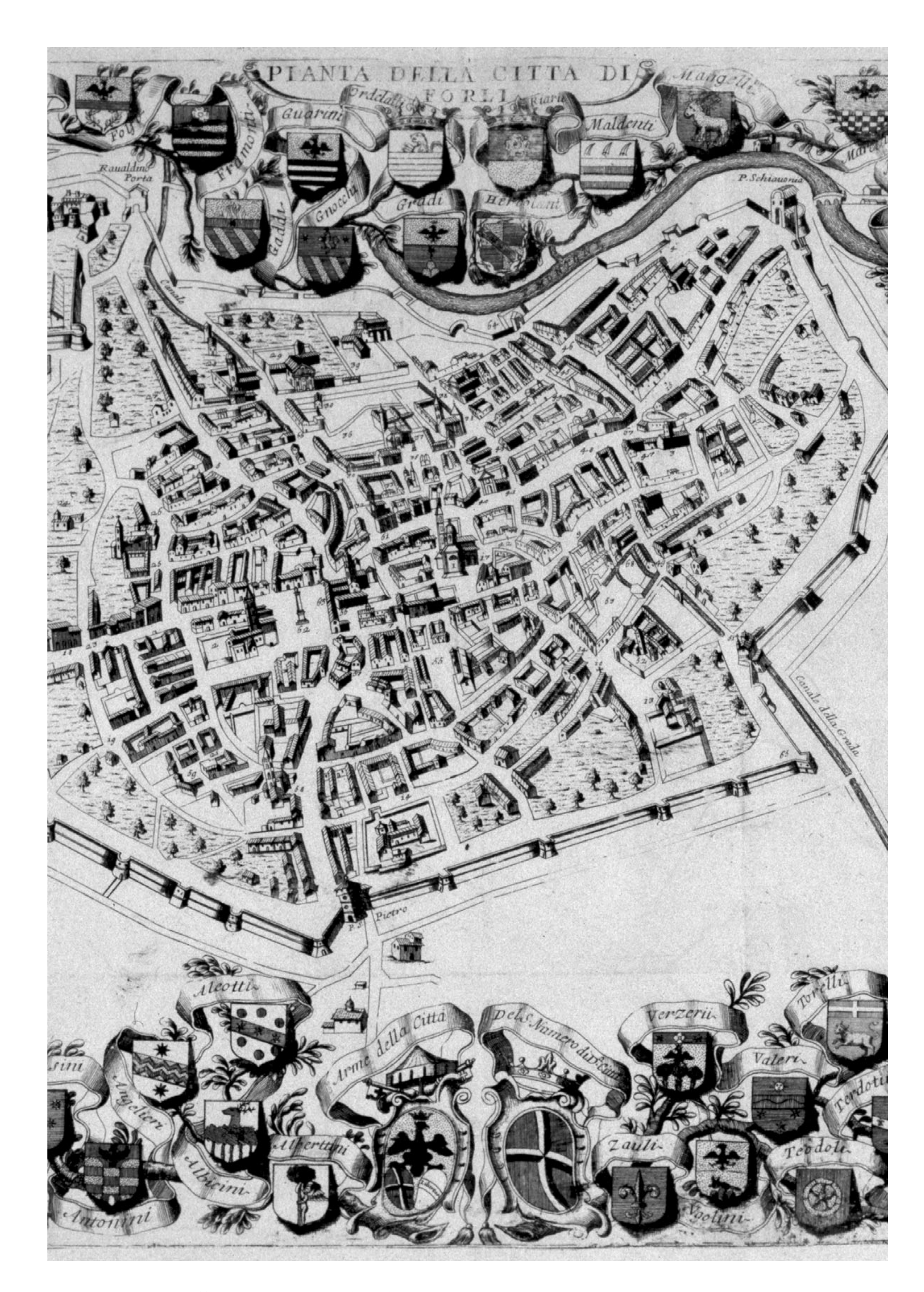
57. Chapel of the Madonna of the Fire, Cathedral, Forlì. February 2001.
Photo: author

Mass to be sung before the Most Holy Madonna of the Fire, every devoted person should make the effort to come, if possible, to adore the Holy Image which is unveiled there." He encourages them to take the opportunity, signaled by the tolling bells, to participate in the ritual of the Mass in the church and to venerate the Madonna of the Fire during its transient unveiling in person. Then Ricceputi adds, "When it is not possible, one should kneel in the house with the desire to remedy one's absence and, there in the house make that prayer that would have been made, had one gone to the church."[502] Ricceputi repeats the phrase *in casa* twice in his brief sentence, emphasizing the domestic setting and contrasting it to the consecrated space of the chapel to which he had just referred. As we have seen, the person praying at home may have directed his or her attention to a religious picture there; as we shall see, it was likely to have

been a painted, printed, or even sculpted image of the Madonna of the Fire itself. Thus, the Madonna of the Fire oriented her devotees' daily trajectories toward the cathedral, both by attracting the footsteps of those who could come into the church physically and by prompting prayer in the homes of those within earshot who could not.[503] The printed icon in its chapel became a potent magnetic center that galvanized the city and its inhabitants through a redoubled action: the Madonna of the Fire's aura was concentrated in a single locus through ecclesiastical emplacement, even as the icon's mobility through and beyond Forlì spread its numinous power.

PART THREE

MOBILITIES



Vincenzo Coranelli, *Map of Forlì*, detail of Figure 58

CHAPTER SIX

MOVING IN THE CITY: THE TRANSLATION OF 1636

> A memory is mobilized and commemorated within a spiritual framework and the domain marked by this ritual practice is a symbolic space.
>
> Martine Boiteux[504]

Enshrinement, the removal of the Madonna of the Fire from the quotidian practices of Lombardino da Ripetrosa's classroom and its emplacement into the ecclesiastical enclosures of tabernacle, chapel, and cathedral, both confirmed and focused its numinous power into a single site. In contrast to Rome's Salus Populi Romani, whose translation into the Pauline Chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore in 1613 marked a much less mobile phase for that Marian icon,[505] the Madonna of the Fire did not always remain physically contained within its new chapel. Balancing the concentrated and usually veiled stasis in that privileged locus in the cathedral, Forlì's icon was repeatedly taken out into the city, to be moved and displayed along processional routes throughout the urban fabric. The passing presence of the Madonna of the Fire, transient but recurrent, thus activated a mobile sacred geography in the cityscape at large. Furthermore, while the Madonna of the Fire in its chapel acted as a magnetic focus for the devotions of the Forlivese who prayed to her regularly, the moving icon, when carried through the streets, brought pious engagement with the Madonna of the Fire outdoors into the city's open spaces and organized the populace into participants and spectators of socio-spatial rituals that circled the civic center repeatedly.[506]

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, these types of rituals moved the Madonna of the Fire around the city again and again, first and foremost on the anniversaries of the originary miracle of the fire on February 4 and of the translation of the print into its chapel on October 20.[507] Besides these regular

annual events, various extraordinary occasions prompted rituals displaying the Madonna of the Fire within the urban fabric of Forlì. For instance, processions took place in 1635, 1684, 1685, and 1755 to ask the Madonna to intercede on the city's behalf during times of terrible drought;[508] the need for heavy rains to cease in 1714 and the earthquakes of 1688 and 1704 occasioned similar ritual action.[509] These supplicatory processions were similar to the *letanie* of medieval Rome, in which, to use Sible de Blaauw's phrase, "the collective entity of a community" gathered to march around the city in participatory processions, often carrying relics or icons.[510]

As with the elaborate Assumption of the Virgin processions that took place more or less regularly in Rome between the eighth and sixteenth centuries, the processions of the Madonna of the Fire in early modern Forlì were religious events largely organized by and featuring civic entities.[511] Giuliano Bezzi is unusual in emphasizing that in Forlì popular will initiated the rituals mobilizing the Madonna of the Fire, which parallels his emphasis on "all the people" of Forlì drawing Domenico Capranica's attention to the miracle of the fire (discussed earlier in Chapter 5): the call for collective ritual action of "the exposition of the Sacred Image with the usual functions" came from "the voices of the people [which] are the voices of God." Forlì's Conservators, hearing this public outcry, would bring a motion to the city's Private Council.[512] From there, the request would go on to the bishop, who then asked that the chapel be prepared by the canon and one of the sacristans, the custodian and vice custodian of the Madonna of the Fire respectively. For eight days, the icon would be unveiled on its altar, illuminated by candles and torches, amid sung masses and the music.[513] Women from each parish would visit the chapel and leave offerings of wax, money, silver, and gold, as would each of the city's confraternities.[514] Finally all of the confraternities and lay and regular clergy would take part in the procession, in which the Madonna of the Fire was carried in a tabernacle of gilt wood, draped in purple velvet and gold brocade.

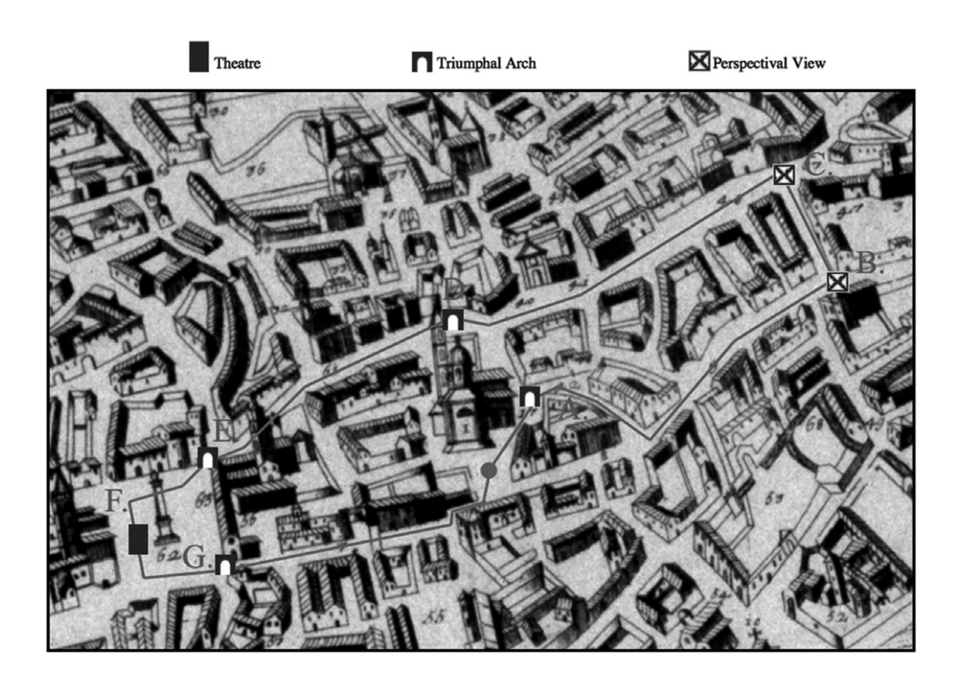
Without question, the most elaborate and significant procession of the Madonna of the Fire was not one of these supplicatory processions, but rather the translation that took place on October 20, 1636 to move the printed icon from its provisional housing in the cathedral, around the city of Forlì, and back into the cathedral and its newly completed chapel there. On the one hand, this procession renacted the often-repeated ritual of moving the icon through the city, and on the other, completed the act of enshrinement by placing the icon into the new chapel built especially for it. In Martine Boiteux's terms (see this chapter's epigraph), the 1636 translation of the Madonna of the Fire mobilized the memory of the 1428 fire in the symbolic space marked by the procession's path. Forlì's population of citizens of diverse occupations and social stations, as well as the many visitors from beyond the city's walls, were organized by the procession into those marching in, watching from, or officially placed outside that symbolic space. The transient kinetic ritual of this translational procession was then itself commemorated by the erection of a permanent stone column in Forlì's Piazza Maggiore.

This section of my book attends to the Madonna of the Fire's mobilities, from the processions through which the icon itself traversed the city, to the innumerable copies of its image that disseminated its cult in and beyond Forlì. In these three chapters, *The Triumphal Fire*, Giuliano Bezzi's illustrated festival book already cited for its vivid descriptions and wealth of information about the early cult of the Madonna of the Fire, is highlighted not only for its text but also for its material status as a printed object. For in writing *The Triumphal Fire*, Bezzi was what we, following Jörg Gengnagel and his colleagues, may call the "author" of the October 20, 1636, procession as well.[515] Bezzi's book, published in Forlì the following year, went beyond establishing the official interpretation for both that procession and the stone column erected to commemorate it. *The Triumphal Fire* itself also enacted mobility in devotion to the Madonna of the Fire by being a portable object available in many multiple copies that were given and read far beyond Forlì.

MARKING THE CITYSCAPE

Louis Marin noted that there is a typology of processional routes, each of which activates symbolic space in a distinct manner. One-way parades, such as royal or papal entries, have a narrative dimension that run along an irreversible path. Thus Pope Leo X's 1515 entry into Florence, for example, could indeed be called a "refoundation" (*rifondazione*) of the Medicean city, in which Leo retook his native city in a ritual that recalled both imperial and episcopal entries;[516] and the city gate though which such an entry passed was not only a physical boundary but also (as Philippa Jackson and Fabrizio Nevola point out) a "symbolic threshold for citizenship, authority and a host of other values associated with membership of the urban community."[517] Parade routes that featured a roundtrip, such as the processions of the Madonna of Impruneta into Florence (Fig. 82) or the Madonna di San Luca into Bologna, "heavily invested" (in Marin's words) the common starting and ending point, as well as the turning point, which in both these cases were a permanent extra-urban shrine and a temporary site in heart of the city.[518] Finally, a closed circuit parade, such as that of the translation of the Madonna of the Fire, in Marin's words, "encloses a space by creating a real or ideal limit and protects the enclosed space with a symbolically closed border."[519] Since antiquity, processions that invoked the protective power of a palladium over the space enclosed by their path were especially numerous and widespread in history and geography, involving for instance Byzantine icons of Mary in Constantinople, the medieval images of the Savior in Rome and Latium, and the relic of the Holy Blood in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Bruges.[520]

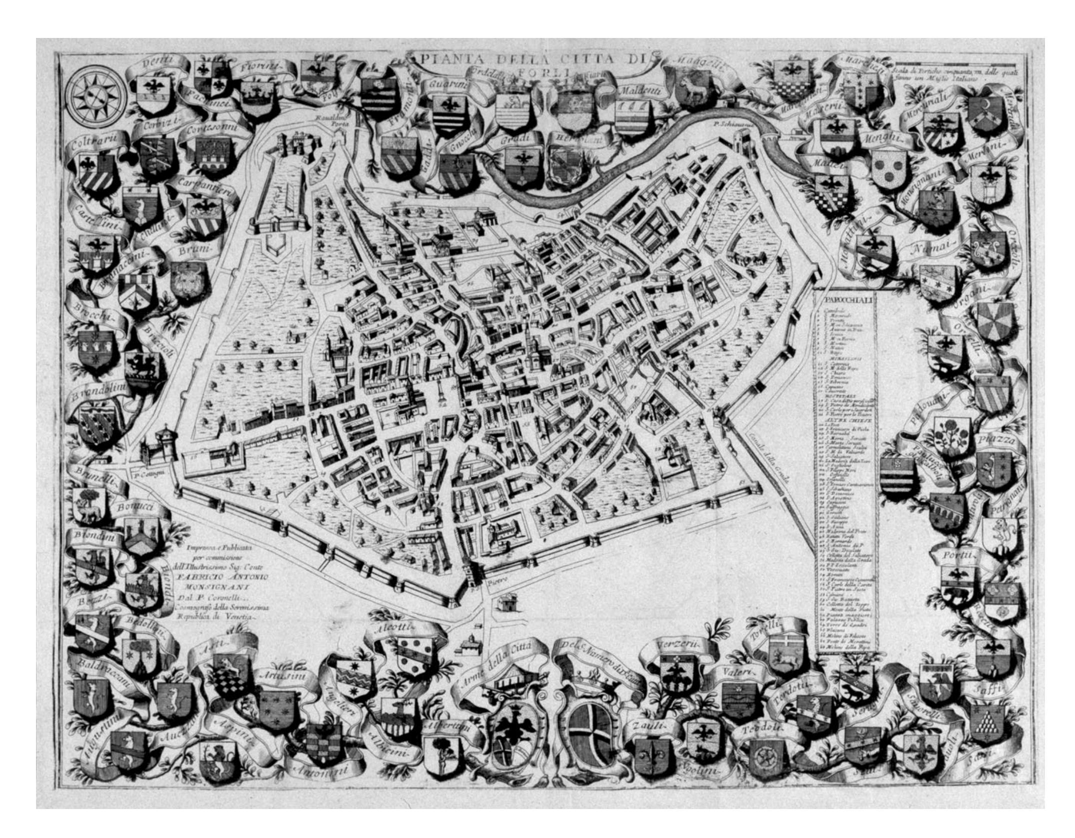
Many early modern processions in Rome and elsewhere were closed circuits that followed the original outlines of the city, always staying close to, and sometimes passing through, the architectural enclosure of the original city walls.[521] In Forlì, however, the most extensive circuit of walls were begun only



Color Plate IV. 1636 processional path marked in red on a detail from Vincenzo Coranelli, *Map of Forlì*, 1694. A. First arch. B. First perspective view. C. Second perspective view. D. Second arch. E. Third arch. F. Theater. G. Fourth arch

in 1438, after Antonio Ordelaffi won control of the city,[522] and the 1636 procession's path never aligned with those walls. Instead that ritual of translating the Madonna of the Fire encircled the smaller area of the original Roman settlement along and to the south of the ancient via Emilia.[523] Thus the procession, which began and ended at Forlì's cultic heart, the cathedral of Santa Croce, overtly marked the sacrality of the urban space at the historical center of the city. A reconstruction of the procession's path, made using Bezzi's account and that of another local historian, Sigismondo Marchesi, published in 1678, shows the symbolically charged border that was activated as the Madonna of the Fire was carried through the urban fabric (Plate IV, Fig. 58).[524]

The procession began near the church of Monache Convertite (numbered 17 on Vicenzo Coranelli's map), then passed the churches of San Martino and San Matteo (Coranelli's number 8 and 9 respectively), and continued down the "Contrata" or "Strada Grande," now via Pietro Maroncelli. At the end of the street, the procession headed south (toward the top of Coranelli's map) to come to the Borgo di Schiavonia, currently known as the corso Garibaldi. Heading east along this major street, the procession passed the cathedral to the south,[525] before entering the Piazza Maggiore, now known as the Piazza Saffi (Coranelli's number 62), where a theater to hold the Madonna of the Fire had been set up by the board of ninety elected local officials charged with maintaining the peace, the Novanta Pacifici.[526] After entering the piazza, standing in formation, and listening to various orations and festive ceremonies, the procession reformed in



58. Vincenzo Coranelli, *Map of Forlì*, 1694. Fondo Piancastelli, Forlì Biblioteca Comunale Aurelio Saffi. Photo: Liverani

double file, and exited the Piazza Maggiore to carry the Madonna of the Fire along the Strada Grande back to the cathedral.[527]

This mapping of the route makes clear that the procession passed for most of its course along the Strada Grande and the Borgo di Schiavonia, the largest streets in seventeenth-century Forlì. But the motivations for this route were not merely logistical but also tied to sites within Forlì's urban geography that resonated deeply within the city's history of civic devotion. The most elaborately decorated part of the route ran along what was still recognized as the ancient via Emilia. But this Roman road to Rimini, with bridges built by Augustus, was then also called the Borgo di Schiavonia, because the Forlivese citizens, who had been enslaved by the Visigoth king Alaric and freed by Saint Mercurial, Forlì's first bishop, were thought to have taken this path back home.[528] This mythic liberation of the Forlivese slaves was depicted on the facade of the abbey of San Mercuriale, which formed the eastern border of the Piazza Maggiore, just behind where the temporary theater for the Madonna del Fuoco was placed.[529] The western extreme of the processional route was also a devotionally potent place. The procession doubled back toward the east near the church of Santissima Trinità (number 3 on Coranelli's map). Santissima



59. Floriano dal Buono, *The First Arch*, engraving in Giuliano Bezzi, *Il fuoco trionfante* (Forlì, 1637). National Gallery of Art Library, Washington, DC

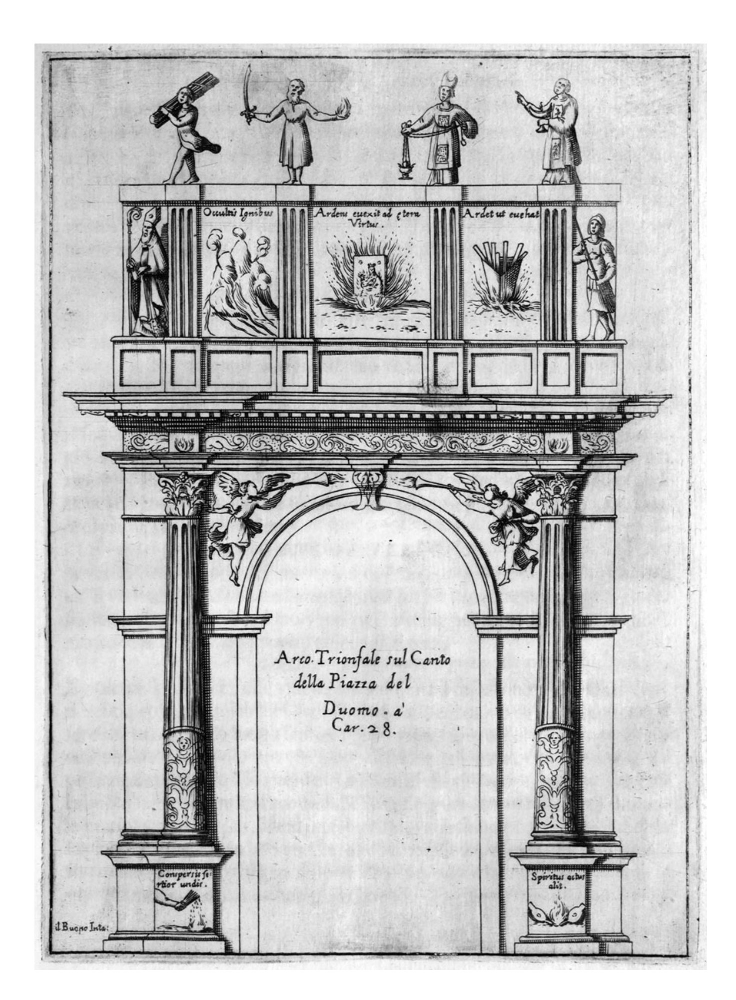
Trinità was believed to have been the site of Forlì's first cathedral, founded by and containing the original tomb of San Mercuriale.[530] The procession's route thus stretched from the site traditionally understood as the seat and resting place of Forlì's first bishop to the abbey also dedicated to that local patron saint.

In other words, the ritual of carrying the Madonna of the Fire into its newly prepared place, the just completed chapel in the cathedral of Forlì, was a spatial practice in which the inhabitants of that city, and beyond, walked through and watched from sites in the urban geography where the thickly stacked layers of cultural memory were, so to speak, stapled through so that (in the case of the Borgo di Schiavonia, for instance) Roman road, early Christian route, and the path of the procession all coincided.[531] Thus, the procession brought together multiple resonant sites from distinct moments in Forlivese history; by moving through a number of such places in distinct physical locations, it linked them together into a single symbolic circuit.



60. Site of the first arch (marked "A" on Color Plate IV), near the present church of Corpus Domini, where the church of the Monache Convertite had stood.
Photo: Liverani

The processional path around the city was punctuated by ephemeral festival architecture inserted into the cityscape for the occasion.[532] In addition to the temporary theater in the Piazza Maggiore, two painted perspectival views and four triumphal arches made of carved and painted wood were prepared. Looking again at Coronelli's 1694 map of Forlì (Fig. 54, Plate IV), we can comprehend the city as a unitary space, bounded by walls and comprehensible as a whole, and we can discern the complete processional path within it.[533] From this bird's-eye view, we can see that these ephemeral architectural structures defined the route by indicating nodal points in the circuit: the two perspectives closed off the western perimeter of the procession's path; the theater defined the eastern edge in the Piazza Maggiore. Of the four temporary triumphal arches, the first pair (Figs. 59, 60) was placed at the churches of the Monache Convertite and that of the Jesuits, important Forlivese institutions for female and male piety respectively (Figs. 61, 62), bracketing the Cathedral to



61. Floriano dal Buono, *The Second Arch*, engraving in Bezzi, *Il fuoco trionfante* (Forlì, 1637). National Gallery of Art Library, Washington, DC

the north and south. Both of these churches were linked to one of Forlì's major lay confraternities, which, as we shall see, formed the main body of the procession: the former, the church of the Monache Convertite, had been the home of the confraternity known as the Battuti Neri since the fourteenth century; the latter, the Jesuit church, had housed the confraternity of the Battuti Turchini before the Jesuits arrived in Forlì in 1558.[534] The second pair of triumphal arches marked the northern and southern ends of the Palazzo Comunale, indicating the entrance and departure of the procession from the Piazza Maggiore. The ephemeral architecture thus marked out a festive space in the city, both by blocking visual and bodily access to zones beyond the processional path, and by reframing existing monuments in the urban landscape for the procession.[535]

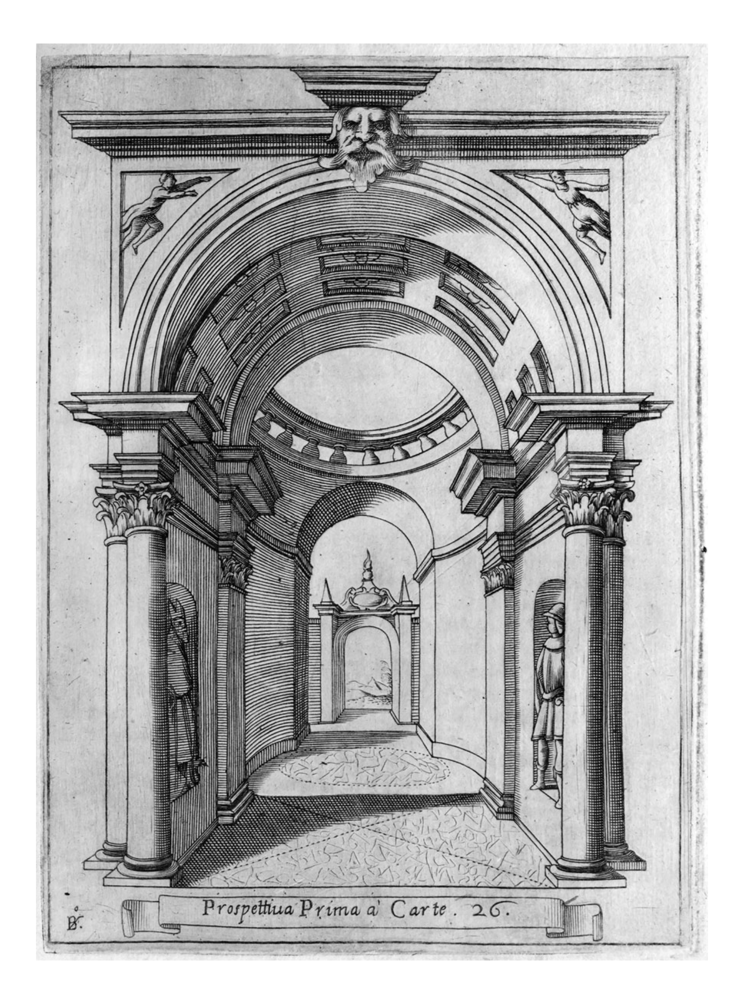
For instance, the church of the Monache Convertite was the home to the repentant prostitutes or *convertite*, who, like their patron saint Mary Magdalen,



62. Site of the second arch (marked "D" on Color Plate IV), on the current Corso Garibaldi near the Piazza del Duomo.
Photo: Liverani

sought a new beginning by turning away from a life of sin.[536] As we will see, prostitutes and other "dishonorable" members of society were banned from the city's festive spaces, so this inclusion of these *convertite* who had reformed their lives was part of their reintegration into the ritual life of the city. The placement of the first arch and the start of the processional route at their church (Figs. 59, 60) reframed and broadened that theme of new beginnings in its decorations: a sculpted figure atop the arch of Livio Salinatore, Forlì's legendary founder, evoked city's origins, while the scene on its frontispiece, of Lombardino da Ripetrosa's schoolhouse in flames, indicated the miracle that first gave rise to the cult of the Madonna of the Fire.

After passing through this first arch, the procession reached the western end of its route and was turned back by two painted perspectives. As Bezzi



63. Floriano dal Buono, *The First Perspective View*, engraving in Bezzi, *Il fuoco trionfante* (Forlì, 1637). National Gallery of Art Library, Washington, DC

states, the first perspective view was placed at the head of the Strada Grande (Figs. 63, 64). A painted double loggia in the Corinthian order, with niches seeming to hold the sculpted figures of local saints Valeriano and Mercurial, framed a fictive depth, "fooling the eyes and making it seem to them to penetrate into a space considerably greater than what remained of the street occupied by the Perspective."[537] Despite offering this illusion of continued space, the painting physically blocked the street, and when the procession turned south, likely along the current via Morattini, it was met by the second painted perspective view (Figs. 65, 66) at the intersection with the Borgo Schiavonia. This second perspective had Ionic columns in the foreground and a Corinthian colonnade in the background. It was decorated with two allegories, one of Fortitude with a broken column, and the other of Prudence, with a serpent and a mirror.[538]



64. Site of the first perspective view (marked "B" on Color Plate IV), at the head of the "Strada" or "Contrada Grande," now via Pietro Maroncelli.
Photo: Liverani

These two painted perspective views offered illusionistic vistas that blocked from view an urban zone that (as we saw in the last chapter) was in the midst of extensive redevelopment. It was here that work on a new bridge over the Montone River had begun in September 1610; here that construction of the Porta di Schiavonia was carried out, first with the idea that it would be decorated with Cardinal Domenico Rivarola's family arms, and instead painted with the image of the Madonna of the Fire five months before the October 1636 procession.[539] The two perspective views installed here temporarily masked that highly fraught site with images of perfect classical architecture, adorned with fictive sculptures of Prudence, Fortitude, and Forlì's local saints.

The third and fourth arches flanked the Palazzo Comunale, where the city council had met repeatedly to push forward the city's request to build the chapel for the Madonna of the Fire, at the north and south. The third arch, Doric in order and placed at the southwestern entrance to the piazza (Fig. 67, 68), drew



65. Floriano dal Buono, *The Second Perspective View*, engraving in Bezzi, *Il fuoco trionfante* (Forlì, 1637). National Gallery of Art Library, Washington, DC

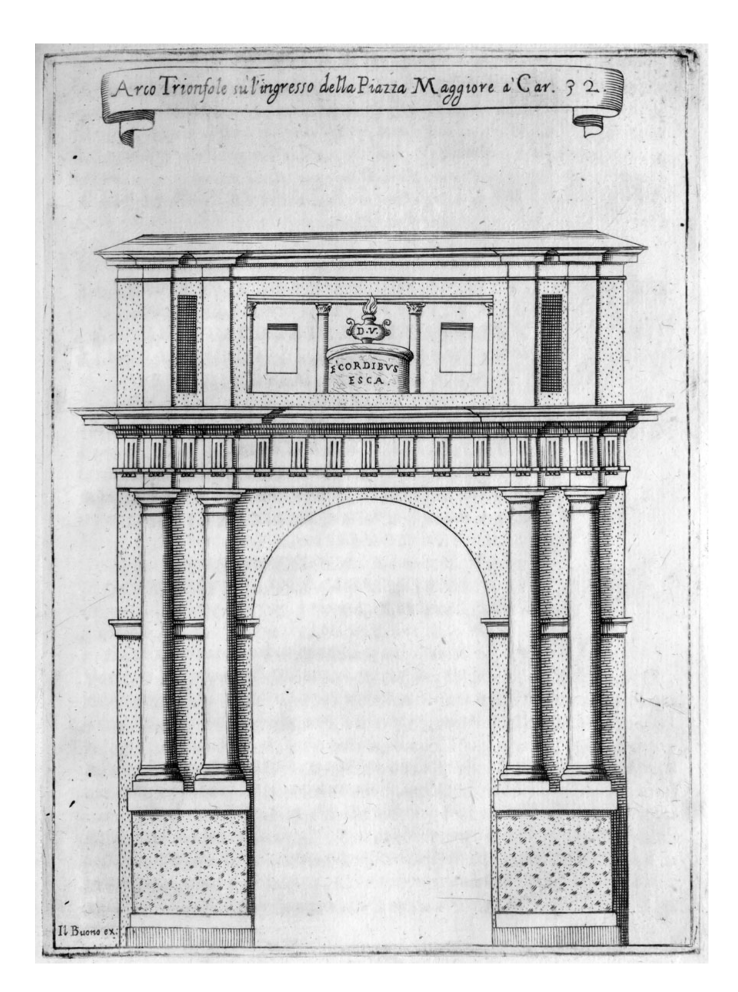
explicit attention to these civic efforts to enshrine the Marian icon whose image it bore, celebrating, in Bezzi's words, "the continued devotion of the city, the public good obtained, and the hope of obtaining it eternally."[540] The fourth and final arch (Figs. 69, 70), at the northwestern exit from the piazza at the intersection of the current via delle Torri, piazza Saffi, and corso Mazzini, a space known as the Cantone del Gallo, alluded to the reception of the miracle even beyond the city: it featured a scene of a priest at an altar, assisted by a king, which Bezzi tells us, indicates that "the fame of the miracle which took place in the Fire of the Virgin will render famous the name of the City of Forlì."[541] After passing this fourth arch, the procession returned the icon to the cathedral by continuing along the Strada Grande.[542]

These final two temporary triumphal arches signaled the entry and departure of the procession from the Piazza Maggiore and bracketed the stationary



66. Via Morattini as it approaches Corso Garibaldi, proposed site of the second perspective view placed at the intersection of Borgo di Schiavonia (now corso Garibaldi) and "another street" (marked "C" on Color Plate IV).
Photo: Liverani

ceremonies that took place there. These were largely centered on the temporary theater placed in the piazza, in front of the facade of San Mercuriale. Supported by planks of wood, the theater was, in Bezzi's words, a "pentagonal stage ... covered with painted canvasses to look like multicolored marbles in various compartments."[543] A drawing of the theater in brown ink with a mauve wash survives in the Archivio di Stato di Forlì, glued down as the front endpaper in an account book for the board of ninety elected local officials charged with maintaining the peace, known as the Novanta Pacifici, which oversaw the building of the theater (Fig. 71).[544] Though this drawing and the corresponding engraving in Bezzi's book (Fig. 72) show the theater with different proportions (probably in response to the differently oriented pictorial fields dictated by their respective books), it is clear that both depictions share notable features that likely characterized the actual theater. Both drawing and engraving parallel Bezzi's textual



67. Floriano dal Buono, *The Third Arch*, engraving in Bezzi, *Il fuoco trionfante* (Forlì, 1637). National Gallery of Art Library, Washington, DC

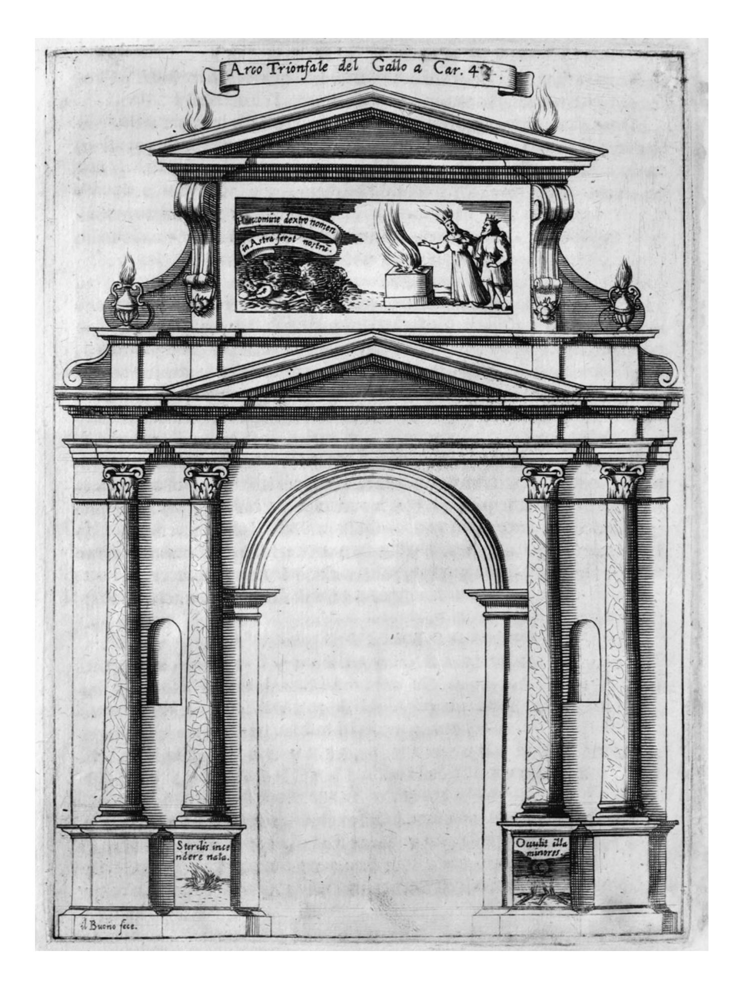
description in showing a scene of Moses and the Burning Bush on the frontispiece (though the drawn and printed scenes reverse each other), surmounted by a statue of the Madonna surrounded by flames, and six saints positioned between the eight Corinthian columns. Both the drawing and the print show the coat of arms of the Magistrates of the Novanta Pacifici, which commissioned the theater: in the drawing, it appears over each side wing in oval shields, and also on the pedestals of the four columns above the central altar. In the book's engraving, two coat of arms also appear above the wings, though much reduced in scale to fit within the broken pediments that have replaced the drawing's elaborate scrolling forms. There are other marked differences as well: the drawing shows a framed image of the Madonna of the Fire on the altar, while the print depicts a cloth of honor behind an altar bare except for four candlesticks. It seems likely that the drawing and engraving are independent



68. Site of the third arch (marked "E" on Color Plate IV), at the entrance of Piazza Aurelio Saffi, formerly Piazza Maggiore.
Photo: Liverani

representations of the most important work of temporary architecture made for the procession: the theater erected in the Piazza Maggiore.

Another account book sheds some light on the preparation of the two painted perspectival views for the procession, both of which were illustrated in Bezzi's book (Figs. 63 and 65).[545] The production of the perspectives began on September 8, 1636, six weeks before the October 20 procession, with the purchase of spruce wood and canvas from Pier Francesco Buosi. Nails, braces, and smaller pieces of wood were also purchased. On September 11, the canvases were sewn together and attached to a stretcher (*teliero*) by Gasparra Fabbri, who also built an armature made of spruce and oak, tied with cord. The first perspective was painted by Girolamo Saffi, a now little-known artist,[546] the second by Giovanni Antonio Nessoli, who became best known as a painter of still-lives and household items.[547] On October 17, the canvases were removed from the stretchers and taken to their sites



69. Floriano dal Buono, *The Fourth Arch*, engraving in Bezzi, *Il fuoco trionfante*, placed at the Cantone del Gallo (marked "G" on Color Plate IV)

in the processional route. Six porters helped to affix the armatures to beams "planted" (*piantate*) in the streets and to raise and attach the painted canvases.

A 1636 edict signed by Antonio Ferrerio, Forlì's Vice General or assistant to the local bishop, makes clear that the city itself was carefully prepared for the procession.[548] The edict, dated two weeks before the procession, decreed that for the three nights immediately before the event, the lights were to remain lit in all the towers and windows of the city. Pictures that were "indecent and would incite laughter or lasciviousness" were banned from view, and citizens had to ensure that the streets in front of their residences were free of rubble and other things that would "make an ugly sight" (*faccia brutta vista*). The facades of the houses were to be decorated by hanging cloths of silk or wool, and, indeed, Bezzi states that on the day of the procession "the walls and windows were



70. Site of the fourth arch (marked "G" on Color Plate IV), the Cantone del Gallo at the intersection of the current via delle Torri, piazza Saffi and corso Mazzini.
Photo: Liverani

adorned with rugs, decorations, and pictures" along the Strada Grande; the Borgo di Schiavonia was even more richly decorated.[549]

ORGANIZING THE POPULACE

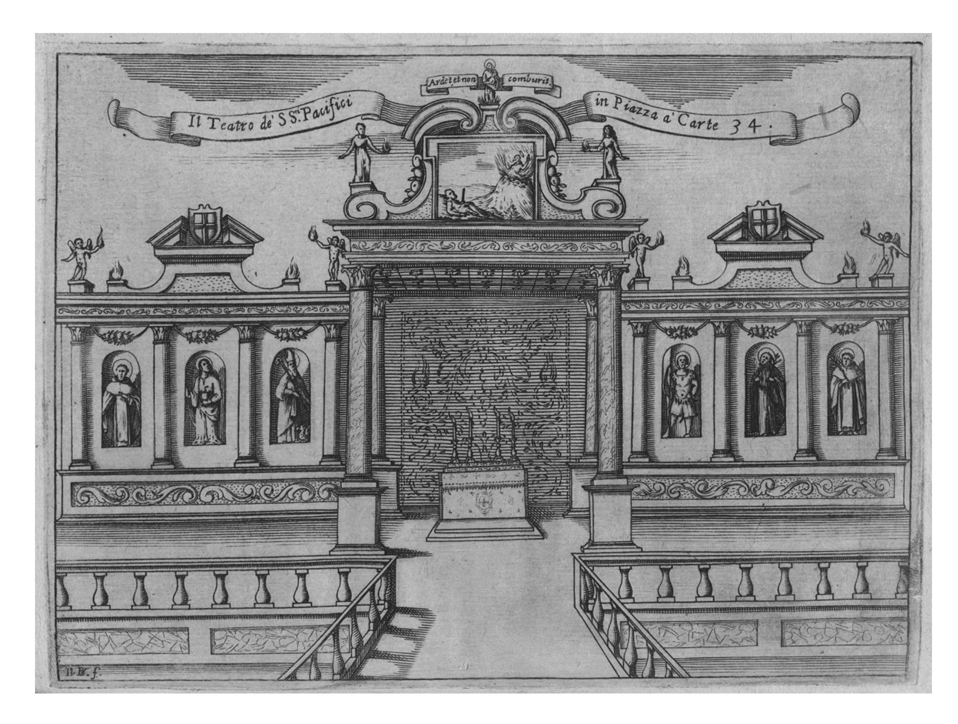
If the streets of the city were prepared for the procession, the people of Forlì were also organized by "dress, form and mode of behavior" (*abito*, *forma e modo*) from a mass of individuals each with their own agenda into an array of disciplined bodies with proper places, included in or excluded from the procession.[550] In Forlì, everyone was to abstain from servile labor for the day of the procession to better honor the Madonna of the Fire. All were enjoined to follow the orders of the Master of Ceremonies, who held authority as the bishop's representative.



71. Italian (Forlivese), *Theater for the Madonna of the Fire*, ca. 1636. Pen and ink with pink wash. Archivio di Stato, Forlì.
Photo: Liverani

Prostitutes, women of ill repute (*done di mala vita*), and "others who engage in those dishonorable acts" (*altri in quella far atti di disonesta*) were warned of heavy fines if they dared to appear in "the places of the procession" (*i lugohi della processione*).[551]

The wording of the edict makes clear the struggle to impose order and avoid any possible disturbances, a challenge faced by any festival's organizers. Indeed the ideological work of disciplining an unruly civic body through a procession was always subject to failure, from the refusal of members of the procession to wear the proper colors to the stoning of dignitaries by bystanders.[552] In Forlì,



72. Floriano dal Buono, *Theater for the Madonna of the Fire*, engraving in Bezzi, *Il fuoco trionfante* (Forlì, 1637)

musicians who were to sing Latin lauds in praise of the Virgin were instructed to "beware of the confusion" their music might cause. Members of confraternities were to dress in the proper hoods and robes and arrive at their posts with lit torches "without chaos or tumult" [*senza strepito o tumulto*]. Those marching in the procession were to arrive at the cathedral with their banners and floats in good time before the procession began.[553]

These official efforts to ensure discipline were vital to the procession's success. For the goal of the 1636 translation of the Madonna of the Fire was not merely to move the icon to its new chapel, nor even only to mark a sacred geography in the urban fabric. As with the annual processions in early modern Antwerp and Brussels described by Margit Thøfner as "tangible manifestations of civic unity" in which "the various members of each urban polity had to fashion themselves into a unified whole, a body politic" even if only temporarily,[554] the translation of the Madonna of the Fire was a ritual that worked to transform disparate social groups in the city into a single community, joined in universal devotion to that icon. Thus, moving the Madonna of the Fire into its new chapel sacralized not only the city's spaces but also the respected members of its citizenry. The members of the populace, who were seen as "dishonorable," such as the prostitutes, were excluded from marching in the procession and even from view, a disenfranchisement that was common in medieval and Renaissance

civic ritual.[555] Those members of the body politic who did actively participate were ritually legitimized, brought into community by being given specific places, garments, and other accoutrements to carry in the procession.

The procession itself was thus an orderly, organized, and organizing collective of selected individuals all marching to the same rhythm and on the same route.[556] As Miri Rubin astutely noted, such rituals sought to smooth potentially messy social relationships "into a linear form."[557] Preceded by the city's poor orphan children and guest confraternities from other cities and followed by Forlì's secular and religious leadership, who bore the Madonna of the Fire itself, the core of the procession was made up of members of Forlì's six major lay confraternities. These groups, which included but were not exclusively composed of members from the social elite, had their origins in the medieval companies of self-flagellants and therefore were all known as *battuti*, or beaten ones.[558] Like the Renaissance Venetian *scuole* discussed by Brian Pullan, they carried out important social functions in their city: burying dead members and providing for the families left behind and caring for the city's orphans and abandoned children as well as those in ill health among the poor.[559] Each of Forlì's confraternities was characterized by and named for the distinctive color of the hoods and gowns worn by its members when carrying out their duties, so the procession proceeded in blocks of figures all wearing blue, then green, then red, then grey, then black, and finally white, as the confraternities of the *Battuti Turchini* (also called the *Celestini*), *Battuti Verdi*, *Battuti Rossi*, *Battuti Bigi*, *Battuti Neri*, and *Battuti Bianchi* passed one after another.[560] Like court livery, this uniformity of dress marked every individual as a member of the corporate body, here not a court but a confraternity.[561] As expected, the most prestigious confraternity, the Battuti Bianchi appeared last, closest to the Madonna of the Fire as it was carried near the end of the procession.[562]

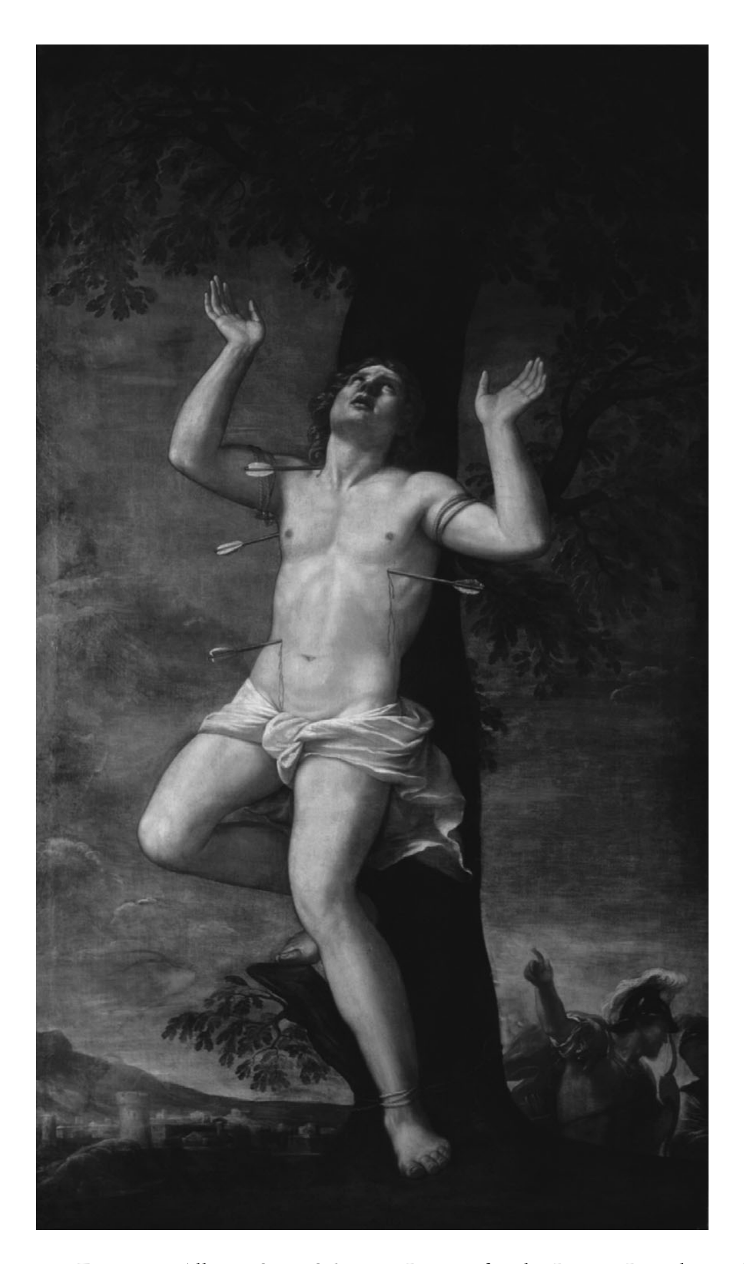
The members positioned at the front of each confraternity in the procession carried a banner, which, as Michael Bury pointed out, would function both to identify the confraternity and to be "a source of visual devotional stimulus" through the prominent display to the members marching behind it of the person or mystery to which the confraternity was dedicated.[563] Bury suggests the type of banner carried at the front of a confraternity in procession typically was attached to the staff of a processional cross, but the Forlivese banners were much too large to be supported in that way. They measured as much as some four meters tall and more than two meters wide and were held up by three, four, or even more poles: the banner of the Battuti Bianchi was so large that an ingenious framework made of eight poles and carried by no fewer than six brothers had to be devised.[564] The Battuti Turchini had a more typical banner that was supported by three gilt poles decorated at the tops with little gold vases filled by gold flames, which was carried by three members of the confraternity. Their banner, which no longer survives, depicted Saint Anthony Abbot, to whom the Turchini's church was dedicated, on his knees adoring the Madonna

and Child, who sat on a throne of clouds pierced by flames. This painted image had a border of blue cloth embroidered in gold, and the back of the banner was covered in blue silk.[565]

Bezzi tells us only that the Saint Anthony on the Battuti Tuchini's banner had been "depicted by a good hand" (*figurato da buona mano*), but in two other cases he explicitly identifies the artist who painted the confraternity's banner. The banner for the Battuti Bianchi, the most aristocratic of the confraternities and the one dedicated to helping children, showed (Fig. 73):[566] "a Saint Sebastian, more living than painted, twice life size, who with a marvelous foreshortening held his eyes fixed to Heaven. It was a beautiful nude tied to an oak tree and opposite him a group of soldiers proudly let loose their arrows from a distance."[567] Francesco Albani, the Carraci-trained artist who at this point was head of a flourishing studio in Bologna, painted this image of the confraternity's patron saint, by whose name the confraternity was also known. Bezzi alludes to Albani's success by saying, "The name of the painter adds to the fame of [this] picture."[568] The banner of the Battuti Bigi (Fig. 74), which bears a full-length depiction of their patron saint, Saint Peter, and, which is almost identical in size to that of the Bianchi, was painted by one of Albani's pupils, coming, as Bezzi put it, "from the masterly hand of Andrea Sacchi, famous painter in Rome."[569]

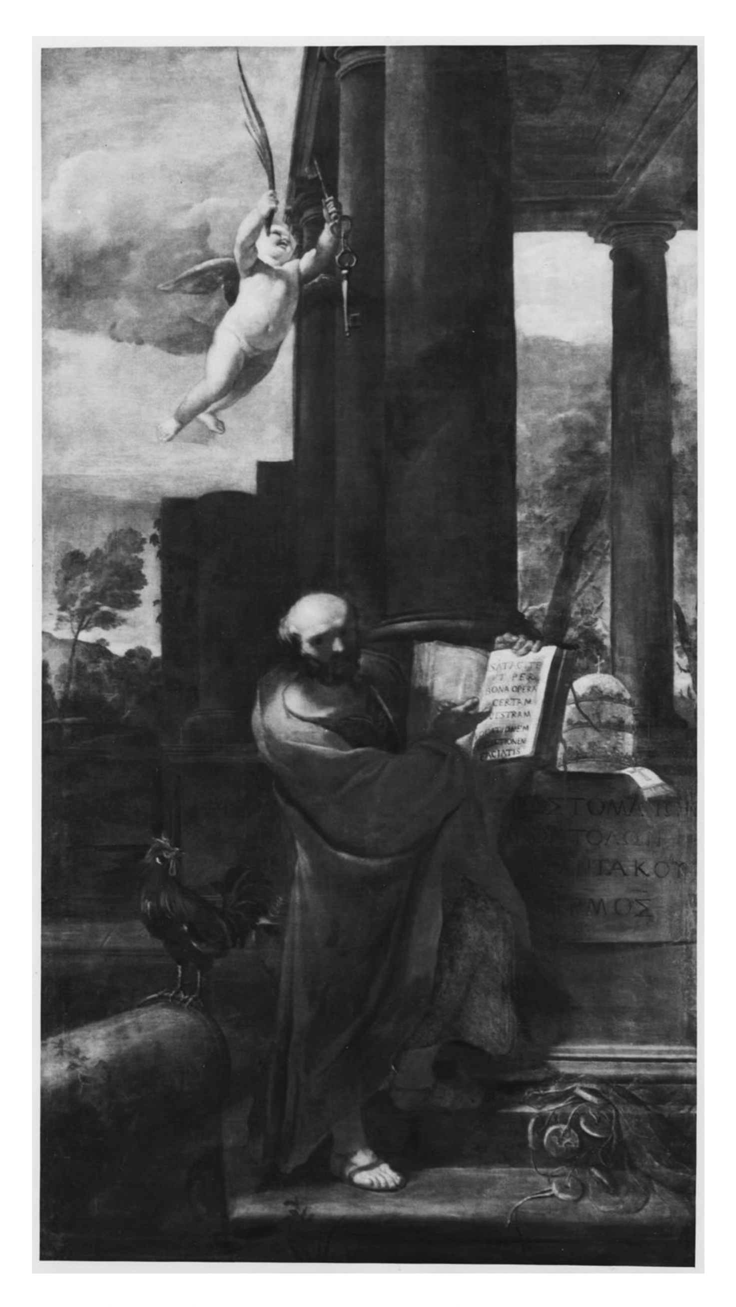
It has been suggested that Sacchi was commissioned to paint the *Saint Peter* in 1631 by Monsignor Clemente Merlini, whose portrait, now in the Galleria Borghese, Sacchi had painted shortly before.[570] Merlini was a native Forlivese who was in Rome to serve as an auditor in the Sacra Rota, a high post in the papal curia. As he was also a member of the Forlivese Battuti Bigi, he indeed is a likely candidate for mediating contact between Sacchi and that confraternity. Sacchi may then have suggested his mentor Albani paint the Battuti Bianchi's *Saint Sebastian*, which was likely commissioned after Albani's trip to Florence in 1633.[571]

The translation of the Madonna of the Fire was in the earliest stages of planning by July 7, 1635, when Forlì's General Council proposed increasing the number of deputies to oversee the event, which at that point was projected to take place on May 21, 1636, five months before the actual procession.[572] Thus, both Sacchi and Albani were probably commissioned to paint the *Saint Peter* and *Saint Sebastian* respectively well before there were concrete plans in place for the translation. Both Sacchi's *Saint Peter* and Albani's *Saint Sebastian* have been described in the scholarly literature as *pale*, or altarpieces, and the canvases may indeed have decorated altars in the confraternities' churches or oratories before 1636.[573] Michael Bury, writing on fourteenth-, fifteenth-, and sixteenth-century Umbrian painting, suggests that it may be fruitful to stop considering processional banners and altarpieces as necessarily discrete categories.[574] Rather, paintings on fabric were, in Caroline Villers's words, "multi-functional objects" that could be displayed in a variety of ways, including being enshrined



73. Francesco Albani, *Saint Sebastian*, Banner for the Battuti Bianchi. 405 cm × 230 cm. Pinacoteca Civica, Forlì.
Photo: Liverani, courtesy of Prof. Catherine Puglisi

in elaborate tabernacles costing more than the paintings themselves, becoming, in Pascale Rihouet's apt phrase, "immobile banners."[575] As Andrea Dehmer has shown, they could even generate specific devotional foci within a church for paraliturgical activities such as the singing of lauds.[576] Louise Marshall and Pascale Rihouet provide the additional example of a banner (*gonfalone)* that was



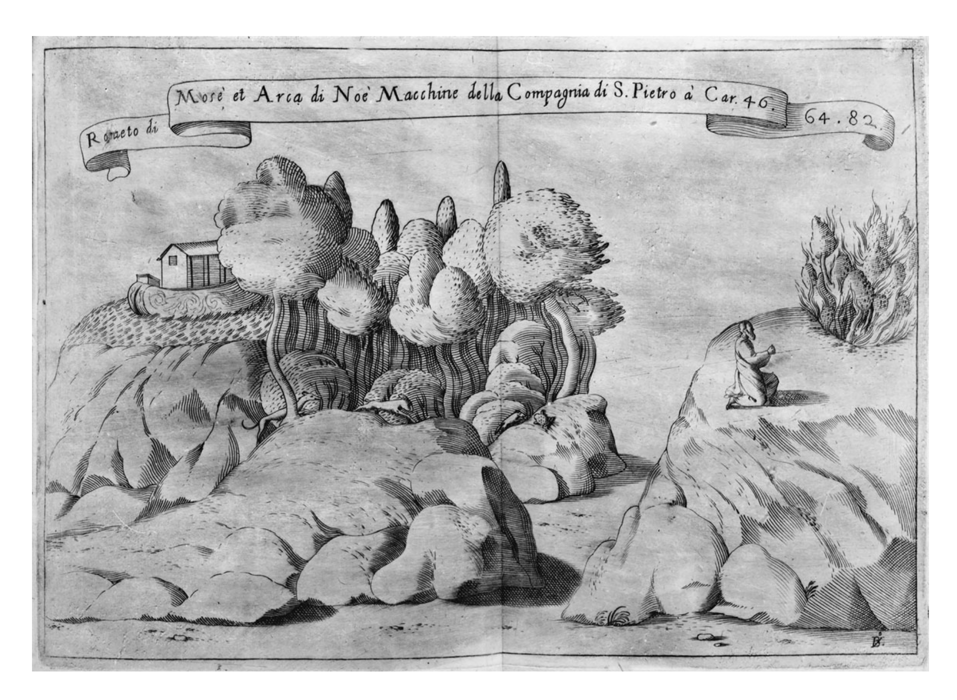
74. Andrea Sacchi, *Saint Peter*, Banner for the Battuti Bigi. 405 cm × 228 cm. Pinacoteca Civica, Forlì.
Photo: Liverani, courtesy of Prof. Ann Sutherland Harris

commissioned by the confraternity of San Benedetto in Perugia around 1471 and placed over an altar in the parish church of Santa Maria Nuova. That banner was not taken out in procession until six years later, for the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin on September 8, 1477.[577]

The history of Sacchi's *Saint Peter* and Albani's *Saint Sebastian* after 1636 supports their categorization, like other painted banners, as multi-functional objects. By 1644, eight years after being carried by the Battuti Bianchi in the procession, Albani's painting was displayed in the cathedral's chapel of the Madonna of the Fire; Sacchi's was hung in the octagonal tribune of that same chapel by 1672. Francesco Piazza, who was bishop of Forlì from 1760–69, had the Albani moved to the side of the cathedral's main altar. In 1838, when the cathedral was undergoing major restructuring, both banners went to Forlì's Oratorio delle Orfanelle; in 1851 both works entered the Pinacoteca Civica di Forlì, where they can still be seen.[578]

In addition to banners, the confraternities marching in the 1636 translation of the Madonna of the Fire also had *macchine* or processional wagons, most of which were pulled along the circuit of the city. The Battuti Bigi however carried only their enormous banner of Saint Peter, having left two wagons in the city's main piazza, where spectators had gathered in great numbers. These wagons became the setting for three distinct forms of theatrical performance.[579] The first was an improvisatory comedy, full of physical antics, such as the *lazzi* or *burle* of traditional Italian *commedia dell'arte*, but involving a more pastoral setting. Characters such as the Hare, the Toad, and the Rocking Horse capered in a wood near a mountain; then the Wood and Mountain came alive and began dancing with each other.[580] When the procession approached the piazza, a second theatrical form took over: a *sacra rappresentazione* beginning with an angel reciting vernacular poetry at the Gates of Paradise, which were represented by the pentagonal theater built in the piazza for the ritual display of the Madonna of the Fire (Figs. 71, 72). Finally, a third theatrical form took over, as the two wagons fell open: one spouted a deluge and became the scene for Noah's Ark; the other – never completed but illustrated in Bezzi's book – was supposed to show Moses going up the mountain (Fig. 75). The bishop then arrived in the procession, and he carried out the appropriate sacred rites before placing the Madonna of the Fire into the temporary theater.[581]

The other processional wagons were mobile, most usually with the form of a wheeled cart still visible, if elaborately decorated and bearing marvellous allegorical scenes. In two cases, however, that of the Battuti Verdi and that of the Battuti Rossi, the underlying structure of the wagons were fully disguised. The Verdi's wagon was almost thirty feet long and represented a ship sailing on the open seas, with its silvery hull rising above painted waves (Fig. 76).[582] A sculpted image representing the Madonna of the Fire stood atop the towering main mast, encircled by Saint Elmo's Fire, the legendary glow, which storm-tossed Christian sailors saw as a sign of divine aid. At the foot of the mast, Saint Francis Xavier stood holding a compass and map in one hand, and a crab with a crucifix in its claw in the other. This crustacean alludes to the story that on a voyage to the Far East, Francis Xavier sought to calm a turbulent sea by throwing in his crucifix; the waters indeed calmed and upon safely reaching the shores of



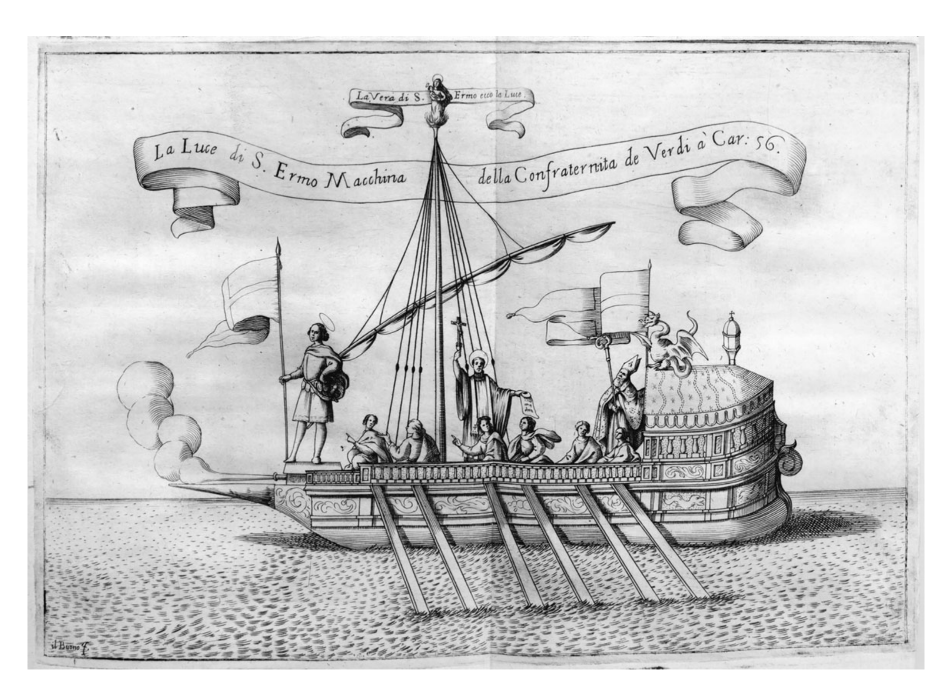
75. Floriano dal Buono, *Float for the Battuti Bigi*, engraving in Giuliano Bezzi, *Il fuoco trionfante*, Forlì, 1637. National Gallery of Art Library, Washington, DC

Malacca, a crab appeared holding the lost crucifix in its claw. These two emblems of maritime salvation were not only crowned by the image of the Madonna of the Fire on the mast but also surrounded by local Forlivese saints. Saint Valerian, the Roman soldier believed to have been martyred near Forlì, stood at the prow holding the city's flag; Forlì's bishop saint San Mercuriale stood at the stern.[583] Perhaps even more spectacular than the Verdi's ship was the triumphal wagon of the Battuti Rossi (Fig. 77), which appeared to be:

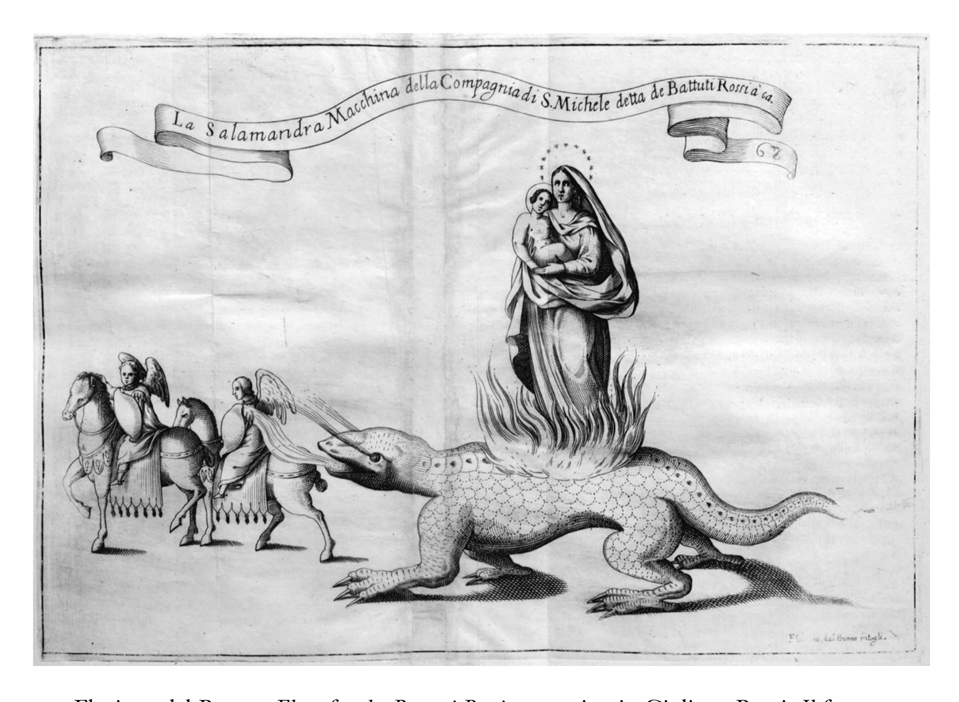
> A very large salamander, so well copied from reality that one would take it for a real one, if a true salamander's smallness were not exceeded by the great size of the feigned one.... It walked on four great legs ... and then the great tail lifted from the ground, where for the most part it had dragged along, and jets of water squirted from the immense head, drenching spectators ... it carried with devoted agility in the middle of the vast field of its great back a statue of the Holy Virgin with flames at her feet and dressed in a blue mantle with gold stars."[584]

This wagon appeared to be an animated being, walking on four legs, raising its tail, and swaying its head.

We can imagine the delight of the spectators who lined the streets along the procession's path and who were drenched by the passing salamander's spray. The spouting salamander wagon of the Battuti Rossi with its spray broke down



76. Floriano dal Buono, *Float for the Battuti Verdi*, engraving in Giuliano Bezzi, *Il fuoco trionfante*, Forlì, 1637. National Gallery of Art Library, Washington, DC



77. Floriano dal Buono, *Float for the Battuti Rossi*, engraving in Giuliano Bezzi, *Il fuoco trionfante* (Forlì, 1637). National Gallery of Art Library, Washington, DC

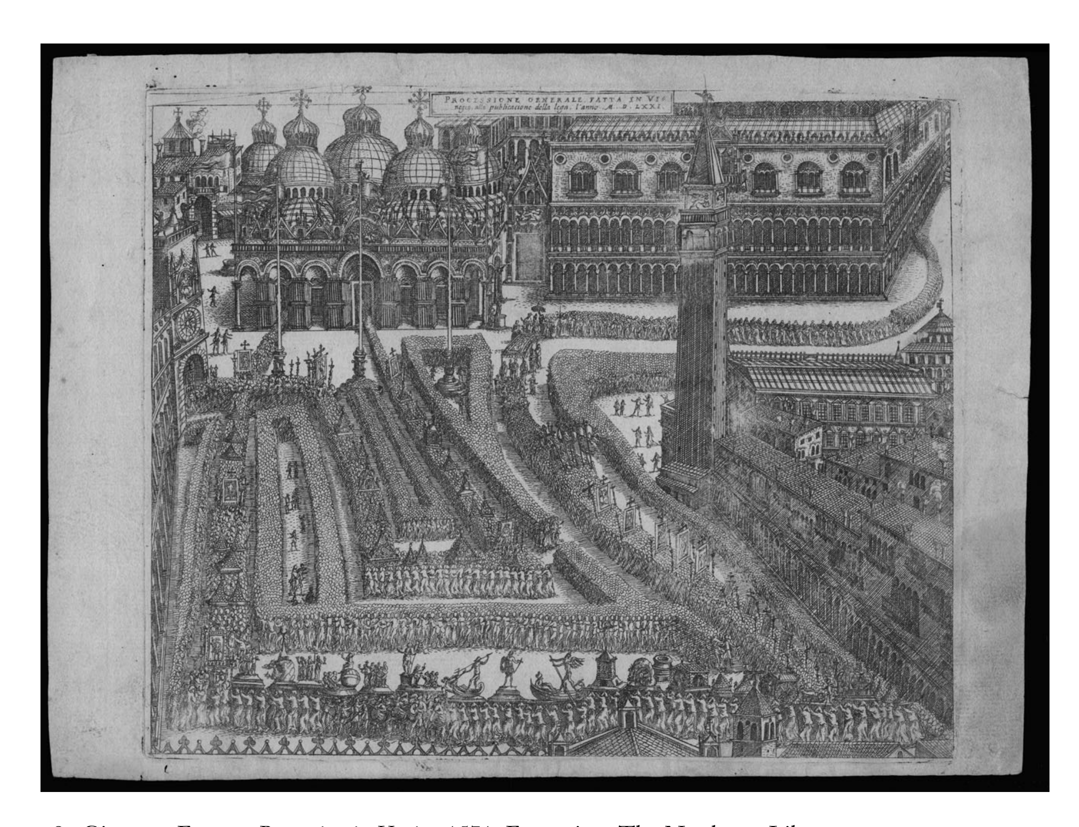
the divide between the people marching and the people watching them pass. Those who marched in the procession were given specific positions in their cohort and order of appearance and were visually marked by their festive dress, banners, and parade wagons. Those who watched shared the procession's space and may have accompanied the marchers briefly, unlike the prostitutes and other "dishonorable" members of society who where banned from attending and inhabiting the spaces of the procession at all. But the spectators generally did not walk along the processional route, instead taking stationary vantage points on the streets, in the main piazza, or even high up in the bell tower of the church of San Mercuriale. They were physically present but largely immobile observers, watching the procession unfurl past their fixed points of observation in real time and real space.

CHAPTER SEVEN

MOBILE IN PRINT: THE PROCESSION ON PAPER

What happens when a spectator is not present at the procession but views it virtually, via its visual or textual representation in print? The early modern procession in Italy – mass performances played out by moving through the urban landscape – was often transformed into printed texts and images. How were these moving spectacles captured using copper plate, wood block, and movable type? How were printed words and printed pictures paired synergetically in festival books and single-sheet prints to evoke the dynamic temporal and spatial aspects of a procession? Print permits a range of pictorial and material strategies which may approximate or diverge from the experience of a spectator at the event itself. In other words, there is a spectrum of modes for printing the processional landscape, from independent engravings that privilege the viewer with multiple perspectives simultaneously, to illustrated books that invite the reader/viewer to proceed sequentially, almost as a participant. Before turning to the printed images and text of Bezzi's *The Triumphal Fire*, and its position in this spectrum as a festival book, it is useful to explore the full range of possibilities in printed processions.

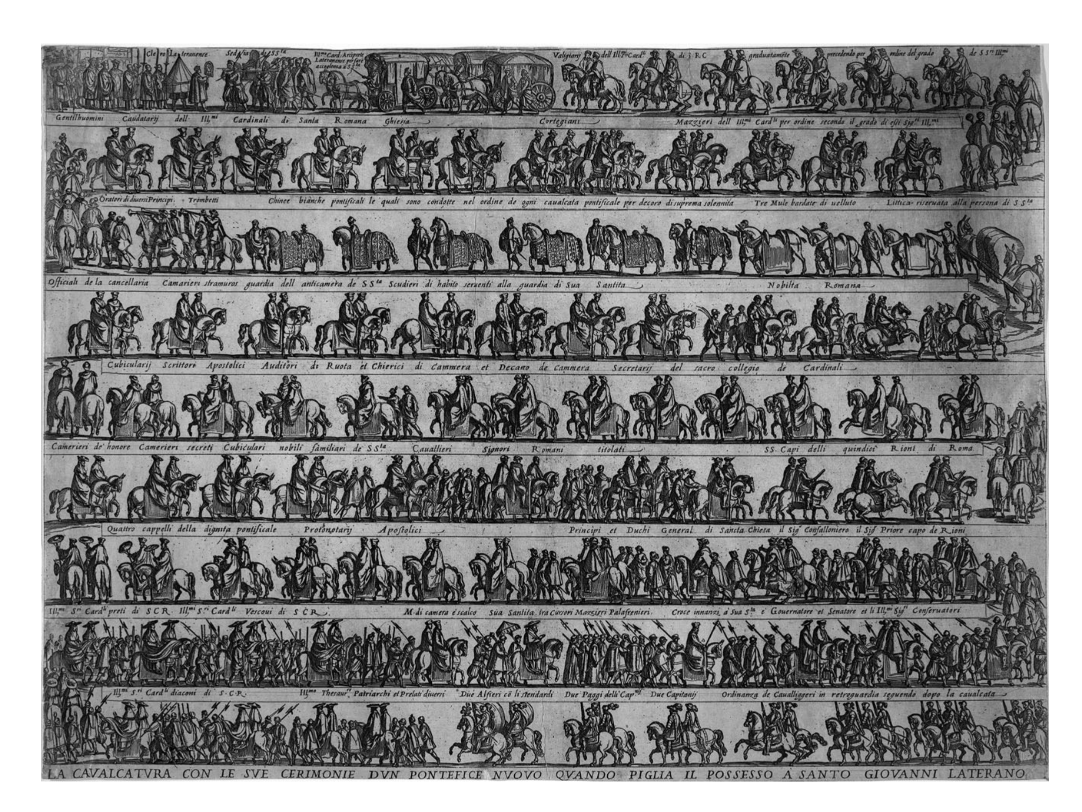
The designer of such a print, charged with capturing a festive procession, faced two moving targets. One was literally mobile: the hundreds of individuals arranged in specific groups and appearing in a specific order as they marched *en masse*. The second was the setting for these marching bodies: the entire route through the cityscape, each point along it changing in time as the procession was anticipated before its arrival, welcomed in its appearance, cheered in its presence, and waved off at its departure. Printmakers used various pictorial strategies to meet the charge to represent these dynamic aspects of the experience of a procession. One was the compression of time and of space.[585]



78. Giacomo Franco, *Procession in Venice*, 1571. Engraving. The Newberry Library

For example, in a print by Giacomo Franco (1550–1620) of the 1571 procession in Venice that celebrated the formation of the Holy League (Fig. 78), the architecture of Piazza San Marco –including the Doge's Palace, Saint Mark's church, the clock tower, and the bell tower – is depicted to form a single recognizable and coherent setting for the action.[586] Within this one fixed location, a hedge-like stream of indistinct bodies passing from one building to the next indicates the procession's surging movement. The identities of the individuals and groups who march in the procession are completely suppressed in this image, which instead expresses the sense of organized motion through one fully defined space. Thus, this print suppresses the procession's travel from one site to another through the city, as well as the sequence of individuals within the procession itself. Instead it presents to its viewers a picture that is fully coherent internally, capturing the procession as a blur in a single place at a single moment.

The opposite visual strategy would be an expansion of time in order to highlight the syntagmatic nature of a procession, with each person's specific place in the complete sequence emphasized, even at the expense of any sense of geographic space or chronological instantaneity.[587] One example of this



79. Italian, Possesso *of a New Pope*, late sixteenth century. Engraving, 38 cm × 52 cm Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library

strategy is an anonymous print made in the last decades of the sixteenth century that shows the *possesso*, or ceremony through which, as the inscription states, "a new pope takes possession of Saint John in the Lateran" (Fig. 79).[588] This print, more than half a meter wide, makes the most of its broad surface by presenting the procession as a serpentine line of horsemen, filling the entire sheet with nine boustrophedonic rows of figures. Each group of figures is precisely labeled above, and the captions form the divisions between each row, opening at the right or the left to allow the procession to curl past. At the upper left, the clerics of the church of Saint John in the Lateran greet the procession approaching from the right with the empty ceremonial chair, or *Sedia*, of the pope; three rows below, the officials of the papal chancery appear. The pope himself appears, with various servants, grooms and guards, four rows further down, just above the words "new Pope" – *Pontefice Nuovo* – in the inscription at the bottom margin.

Unlike the Venetian print of the 1571 procession in Piazza San Marco, this engraving emphasizes the syntagmatic nature of the papal *possesso*, the sequence of the various participants, one following the other in the procession. In doing so, this depiction disregards both the route taken by the procession through



80. Giovanni Battista Falda, Possesso *of Innocent XI*, 1676. Etching, 32.5 cm × 46.6 cm. Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library

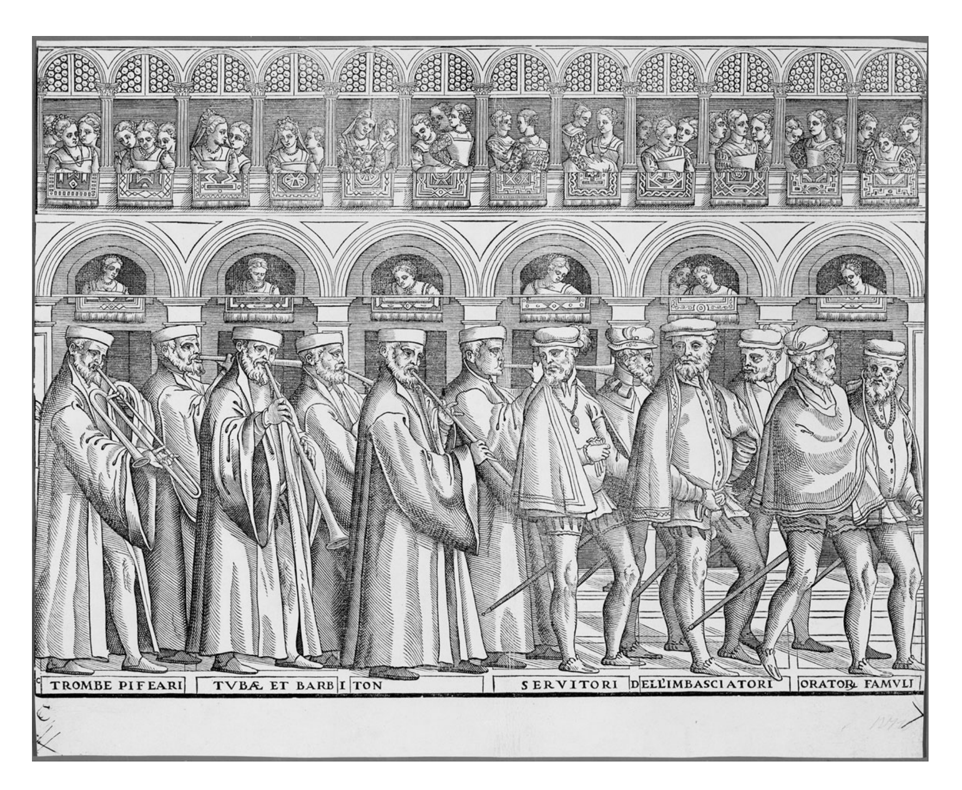
Rome's urban fabric and the architecture, permanent and temporary, encountered along the way. The festive urban landscape is here completely suppressed, in order to offer instead an image that was unobtainable to viewers of the procession itself: a privileged look at the procession in its entirety, from the first riders to the last, encapsulated by print onto two joined sheets that could be comfortably held and closely examined by a single viewer. As Joseph Monteyne points out, such prints offer an "unimpeded view" of the procession to those who examine them.[589]

Yet, the urban fabric of Rome was important for papal *possesso*, which ritualized the new pope's formal progress from Saint Peter's, across the city to his cathedral, Saint John in the Lateran. An etching by Giovanni Battista Falda representing Innocent XI's 1676 *possesso* (Fig. 80) merges the serpentine sequence of the earlier papal print with landscape episodes, including major monuments along the via Papalis, or route of the procession.[590] As in the earlier print, the six rows snaking back and forth across the width of this print present the riders in the procession in pure profile, each group identified by a caption, but here the figures are reduced in height as one moves from the bottom of the sheet toward the top, suggesting that those at the top are farthest from the viewer. The *possesso* begins at Saint Peters, depicted in the print's lower left

corner from a high vantage point that offers a clear view of the oval arms of Bernini's colonnade. As we follow the procession, it snakes across the print in three more rows before reaching the foot of the Campidoglio, the hilltop piazza designed by Michelangelo that was the seat of the city government. As the inscription makes clear, the Campidoglio is the site of an important stop in the procession in which the civic government submits to the papal authority: "the Senator of Rome, wearing a garment of gold brocade and holding an ivory baton, pledges his obedience to [the pope], who stops to hear him."[591] From here, the procession would have crossed the Roman forum, which is not at all indicated on the print; after traversing the width of the print twice, the printed procession reaches the Colosseum at the upper right corner; and then, across the top of the sheet at the upper left, we see not just the approaching clergy from Saint John in the Lateran but also the basilica and its surrounding buildings.

The four monuments featured by this print – Saint Peter's Square, the Campidoglio, the Colosseum, and Saint John in the Lateran – are presented in miniaturized vignettes, much too small to accommodate the riders in the procession, though each monument is populated with appropriately scaled figures. This discrepancy in scale between the printed places and procession, as well as the disjunctive points of view from which the monuments are depicted – from above for the Vatican and the Campidoglio; from below for the Colosseum and St John in the Lateran – make it impossible to see the whole print as a single internally coherent image. Instead, the urban landscape intrudes in discrete episodes into the serpentine representation of the whole procession, seen, impossibly, all at once, from beginning to end, with each group identified by a caption.

And yet, here the printed procession is more than the prescribed sequence of participants it had been in the earlier anonymous *possesso* print. The figures in Innocent XI's procession not only become smaller toward the top of the sheet to give the illusion of receding from the viewer, they are also consistently lit from a light source originating somewhere behind the viewer's left shoulder, with shadows drawn under their feet to extend diagonally away toward the upper right. In addition to this consistent lighting, the procession has its own viewers within the print. Stationed in the margins after the first and second turns of the processional path up the printed sheet, these viewers, caught by us in the act of viewing, are similar to those closest to them in the procession in size and shading. These pictorial strategies prompt the print's viewer to see these figures as occupying a coherent space that stretches from the dense hatching at the bottom of the print to the thinly etched mountains below the cartouche at the top. This unified space of the procession across the center of the print is distinct from the four landscape episodes, and the disjunction between them allows the print's viewer to experience both the continuous flow of the procession passing a stationary observer and the sequence of stops in that flow at the Vatican, Campidoglio, Colosseum, and the Lateran, as experienced by a participant in the procession. Thus, time and space are not merely compressed but also fractured in this engraving.

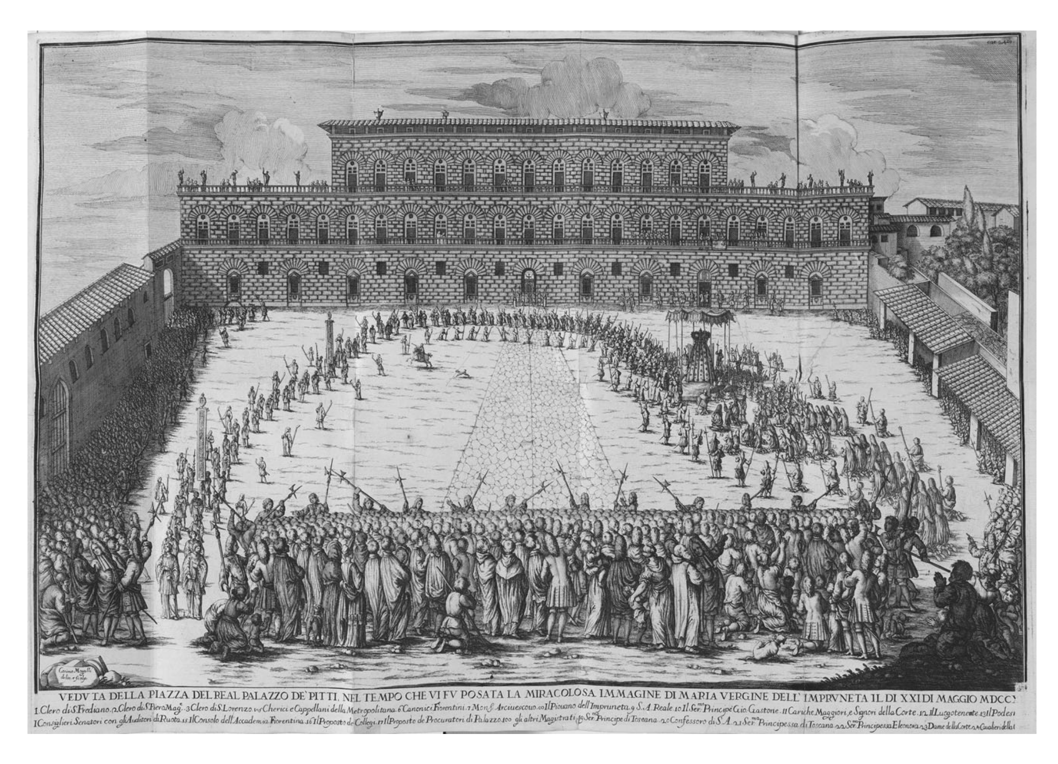


81. One sheet from Matteo Pagano, *Procession of the Doge in Venice*, 1556–61. Woodcut in eight sheets, each approx. 43.2 cm × 55.9 cm. The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1949, Metropolitan Museum.
Photo: OASC, metmuseum.org

The two Roman *possesso* prints and the Venetian print of the procession in Piazza San Marco all respect the proportions dictated by a sheet or two of paper. Other printmakers, such as Matteo Pagano, used multiple sheets of paper joined end to end in order to capture the continuous sequence of a procession on a grand scale.[592] Pagano's *Procession of the Doge in Venice*, from ca. 1559–61 is a large woodcut on eight sheets joined end to end.[593] Each sheet is roughly 22 inches (56 centimeters) wide, so the whole assemblage makes an impressive frieze more than fourteen feet long. The procession begins at the extreme right with the standard-bearers, followed by commanders, and trumpeters, each group labeled in printed letters cut beneath their feet. All the groups or individuals are carefully identified, from the retainers of the foreign ambassadors (Fig. 81) to the canons of San Marco; or the Patriarch of Venice and squires, finally followed by the Doge himself and the Venetian Senate. The insistent labeling and individualized features as well as the dress and accessories of those taking part in the parade emphasize the order and hierarchy represented and reinforced by the ritual of the procession; their ordering across some fourteen linear feet requires the viewer's gaze to pan across the horizon of its extended surface.

In contrast to the highly individuated figures, the architecture of Piazza San Marco is indicated only by the bottom two arcades of a single building, the Procuratie Vecchie. The upper loggia is populated mostly by women, who, themselves are viewing the procession passing below them with the limited vision of a stationary spectator and are not the object of the print. In fact, the same woodblock matrix for this upper arcade is repeatedly used, printed again and again in all but the first and last sheets.[594] In other words, the viewers depicted within this woodcut are all produced from the same woodblock for most of the procession's length. Thus, the timeless quality of the much-viewed and much-repeated ritual of a dogal procession, a display of secular and religious authority that was at the heart of many civic rituals in Venice, was emphasized, rather than any specific festive event or date. Furthermore, the print's sheer length enlisted its viewer to walk alongside this printed procession if it were mounted on a wall as a frieze, or to unroll it, group by group, if it were fashioned into a scroll. In either case, viewing the print mimicked aspects of a procession spectator's actual experiences, from keeping pace alongside the proceeding figures to admiring a limited but changing scene.

Perhaps the most complex evocation of a procession occurs within the context of a volume that brought together text and pictures. An illustrated printed book could bring the experience of a procession to its readers through various interactions within an image that was printed separately and bound into the volume, as well as between that print and the rest of the book. One prominent example is a print by Cosimo Mogalli, bound into Giambattista Casotti's *Historical Memories of the Madonna of Impruneta*, a book that recounts the story of that cult from its foundation through 1713, the year before the book was published in Florence by Giuseppe Manni.[595] Mogalli's print depicts the procession held on May 21, 1711 that brought the Madonna of Impruneta from its home in the baptismal church in Impruneta into the nearby city of Florence (Fig. 82, previously discussed in Chapter 4).[596] Like the Venetian print of Piazza San Marco, this print shows one instant in the procession's progress through a well-defined place; unlike that Venetian print, it also indicates specific participants and their order in the procession. The vast facade of the Pitti Palace, the Grand ducal residence, stretches across the print, while side buildings are placed on orthogonals that create a coherent perspectival space through which the procession travels. In this case, these flanking structures are truncated by the print's edges, and a row of spectators extends across the foreground, dwarfing the figures in the procession that recede into the distance. The print's viewer is thus given the sense of an expansive open space before a monumentally large palazzo. On closer inspection, for example, of the figure following the canopied tabernacle of the Madonna of Impruneta, one takes note of the number 8; consulting the legend at the bottom margin, the figure is identified as the parish priest of the church at Impruneta.



82. Cosimo Mogalli, *Procession of the Madonna dell'Impruneta*, engraving in Giovanni Battista Casotti, *Memorie istoriche della miracolosa immagine di Maria Vergine dell'Impruneta* (Florence: Giuseppe Manni, 1714). 72.1 cm × 48.2 cm (including caption). National Gallery of Art Library, Washington, DC

To see this large engraving, the book's reader must interrupt his or her perusal of Casotti's text, in order to open, carefully, the multiple folds that compact the expansive printed image into the small volume in quarto. Then turning back to the text on page 248, one hand outstretched to support the unfurled print, the reader can peruse the description of the spectacle of the procession upon reaching the Palazzo Pitti:

> the venerable tabernacle [containing the Madonna of Impruneta] was placed in the middle of the piazza, on a platform covered in crimson velvet, exactly facing the room of the most serene prince of Tuscany [Ferdinand III], who though gravely ill, rose from his sickbed and without leaving his room, appeared at the window, supported by his Confessor, to pay his respects, as best he could, to that Holy Figure. ... [Some in the crowd] wept at the tender distress of his most serene Consort, who, together with the Most Serene Princess Eleonora, was prostrate on the palazzo balcony, next to the room of the infirm prince. And everyone in a single voice wished that Death would not triumph over he who had as his protectress the Mother of Life.[597]

Indeed, the proclamation announcing the procession states that the Madonna of Impruneta was brought to Florence to ask for divine assistance "especially to

implore the return to good health of the most Serene Prince Ferdinand, and the much-hoped-for succession of the House [of Medici]."[598] A reader turning from the text on page 248 back to the unfolded print, can look at the palace facade just opposite the Madonna's tabernacle and see small figures numbered 19, 20, 21, and 22. The print's legend identifies these figures as Ferdinand himself; Ferdinand's confessor; the Princess of Tuscany, Ferdinand's wife, Violante; and Princess Eleonora, Ferdinand's aunt, respectively.[599] The print's captions allow the depicted figures to be identified as those discussed on page 248.

These depicted figures are spectators like the Venetian ladies in Matteo Pagano's woodcut of the dogal procession (Fig. 81), for their views are limited by their fixed positions in the palace window or balcony, and they will not be able to see the procession after it leaves the piazza. At the same time, they are part of the spectacle, the sight of them causing those present – and perhaps the reader as well – to weep and to wish for Ferdinand's renewed good health. The print reinforces the sense of these viewers as part of the spectacle to be viewed by including them at the end of the numeric sequence for the legend. Thus, Casotti's book and Mogalli's engravings in it worked together to fix in printed text and images the fluid acts of processing and of viewing the procession that took place in Florence in 1711.

"THE DESCRIPTION AND NARRATIVE OF ALL THAT WAS DONE"

> Festival books present the festival already pre-packaged, already interpreted. . . . [They] are not simple records of a festival, but another element in it.
>
> Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly[600]

The translation of the Madonna of the Fire that took place in Forlì on October 20, 1636 was, like the 1711 Florentine procession, a transient event that became fixed and commemorated in a printed book. Five days after the procession had taken place, Forlì's General Council officially commissioned Giuliano Bezzi to send his account of the event to be printed. Three days later, it was agreed that the book should include "drawings engraved in copper of the chapel, floats, arches, theater, marble column and perspectives" (*I Disegni della Cappella, Macchine, Archi, Teatro, Colonna di Marmo e prospetive da intagliarli in Rama*).[601] *The Triumphal Fire* (Fig. 50), the book made up of Bezzi's text and these engraved images, became Forlì's official account of the procession, meant like other such publications to offer, as Christian Jouhaud aptly put it, "the right interpretation, the one that conformed with the original intention and . . . thus the only legitimate interpretation."[602] As Forlì's General Council stated, Bezzi's book was intended to be "the description and narrative of all that was done,"[603] and that official account showed the city in the best possible light. As we have

already seen in the last chapter, for instance, Bezzi characterized papal governor Domenico Capranica as responding to "all the people" of Forlì when he witnessed the miracle of February 4, 1428. In recognition of his efforts in writing the book, Bezzi was awarded 25 scudi by the General Council on November 18, 1637.[604]

The printing of the text was carried out locally in Forlì by book publisher Giovanni Cimatti, who on February 6, 1637, was paid 6 scudi 4 soldi by the General Council to "go to Bologna to have engraved and printed the arches and floats" for the book.[605] On June 28, 1637, Cimatti received another payment for the "engravings made in Bologna."[606] Less than two weeks later, printing must have been completed, for a special presentation copy of the book was bound, gilt, and sent to Rome for Cardinal Francesco Barberini.

The Bolognese printmaker whom Cimatti engaged to make the engravings for *The Triumphal Fire* was Floriano del Buono, who during his career produced some thirty prints between 1623 and 1647, usually working with Bolognese publishers, such as Agostino Parisini, Vittorio Serena, and Antonio Maria Magnani.[607] In the period that he was working on the plates for *The Triumphal Fire*, Floriano also produced what was perhaps his most ambitious print: a bird's-eye view of Bologna engraved in seven copper plates, dated 1636 and published by Agostino Parisini.[608] A four-sheet print measuring more than two meters in total width, the central band offers an aerial view of the walled city from the south, centered on the basilica of San Petronio and the two towers that are still the architectural emblem of the city today. Saint Petronius himself is depicted kneeling before a seated Madonna and Child in the space outside the city walls at the extreme left of the print; allegorical figures of Bologna and the Remo River sit on the opposite side of the print at far right. A series of coats-of-arms of Bolognese cardinals and bishops lies below the city view; underneath that is a legend matching the names of the places numbered in the view above.

The view of Bologna, like the engravings for *The Triumphal Fire*, were anomalies in Floriano's oeuvre. His other prints are neither large-scale multi-plate images nor engravings meant to illustrate a book but rather independent single sheet prints. All Floriano's prints, however, do share a general focus on local events and monuments. For example, one engraving commemorates the first mass celebrated in the newly completed church of the Confraternità del Buon Gesù in Bologna in 1640. The print includes a floor plan, section, and facade of the new church as well as the engraved text of a poem by Bernardino Mariscotti.[609] Another engraving shows the 1630 funeral procession of Carlo Barberini, brother of Urban VIII and leader of the papal troops.[610] As in the view of Bologna, there is an interest in identifying various elements in the main image: textual inscriptions curve below or alongside each group in the procession to name them for the viewer. The skill in depicting processions, local events, plans, and facades, and in engraving texts demonstrated by these and other prints is surely why Giovanni Cimatti chose Floriano del Buono to engrave the plates in *The Triumphal Fire*.



83. Floriano dal Buono, *The Votive Procession of 1630*, 1631. Engraving. Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio.
Photo: courtesy of Prof. Catherine Puglisi

Floriano's engraving of the 1630 procession honoring the Madonna of the Rosary in Bologna (Fig. 83) is closest in subject matter to the prints he would be commissioned to make for Forlì six years later.[611] This print shows the procession that took place in Bologna on December 27, 1630 in fulfillment of a vow made to the local Marian icon, the Madonna of the Rosary, in return for protection against the plague's devastating ravages. The Madonna, shown in the darkened sky at upper right, acknowledges the procession made in her honor. The church of San Domenico, site of a special mass sung during the procession, closes off the background with its distinctive facade, while the flanking buildings to either side are drawn with carefully constructed orthogonals. The perspectival space of this piazza is joined with a depiction of individualized figures from the procession emerging from the left side of the sheet, turning at the lower right, and moving in single file into the entrance of the church. These figures are not captioned within the processional landscape itself, but each is given a number that corresponds to an identifying legend at the bottom margin. By using this technique of visually footnoting individual figures, this print balances the image of the procession at a single moment in time,

in a single, coherently depicted place with precise information about the procession's sequence. This single-sheet print, designed to convey all the necessary information by itself, emphasizes to its viewers one place through which the procession passed, as well as the identity and sequence of individual participants.

Despite the shared aim of depicting a procession in print, none of the sixteen prints Floriano dal Buono made six years later for *The Triumphal Fire* uses the visual strategies of this Bolognese print: there is no single image of the procession for the Madonna of the Fire passing through a specific place in Forlì. Rather, the prints for Bezzi's book focused on the new chapel that was the final destination and individual elements – arches, perspectives, pageant wagons – in the procession. Though produced separately, the prints were closely integrated with Bezzi's textual descriptions, and carefully marked for tipping into the text block of the finished volume: in the engraving of the first triumphal arch, for example, the caption in the banderole not only identifies the arch, it also adds that the engraving was to be tipped in "at page 23" (Fig. 59). The seven printed illustrations of the temporary architecture, built in wood, canvas, and papier mache for the duration of the procession, gives a frontal view of each architectural element in splendid isolation: the engravings of both the painted perspective views and the arches show the shading contained in these elements themselves, but there is no indication of the urban landscape into which these temporary pieces were inserted. Only the foldout engraving depicting the theatre in which the Madonna of the Fire (Fig. 72) was displayed has, near the top, an indication of a cloud-filled sky; otherwise each engraving focuses on the details of each arch or view, to the exclusion of the surrounding built or natural environment.

The book's text does give a brief indication of the urban setting but then works in a similar mode as the prints, describing each architectural element minutely down to the details of exact measurement, while devoid of any extended description of the surroundings. For example, the passage related to the first arch starts by noting it was erected at the side of the Church of the Monache Convertite, at the edge of the Piazza del Duomo (Figs. 59, 60). The text then continues:

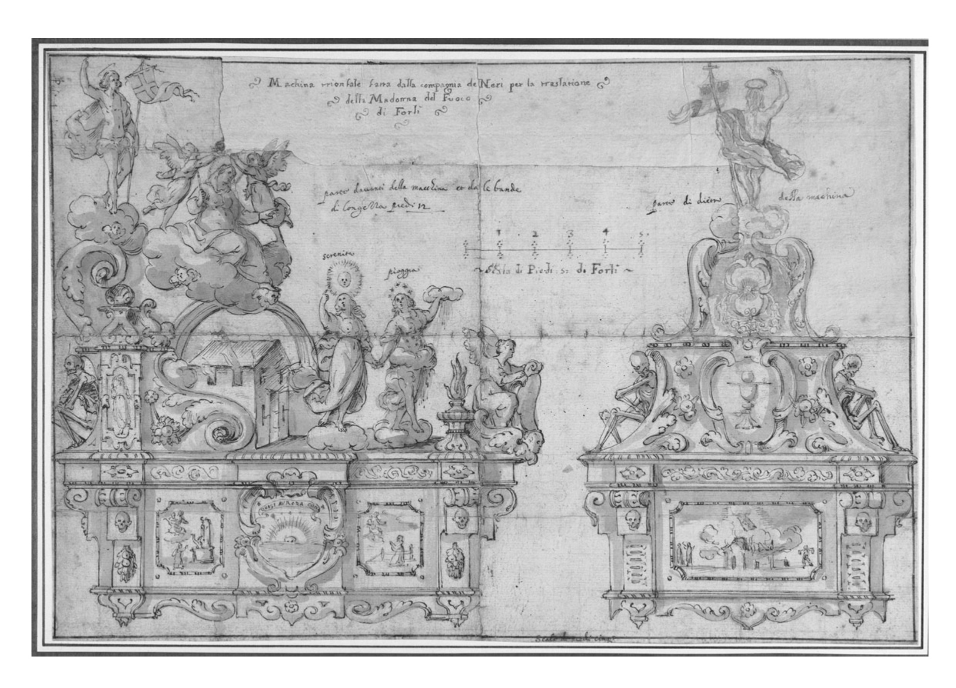
> It was 28 [Bolognese] feet wide, and 54 feet high, the archway being 12 feet wide and 24 feet high. The paintbrush did not have to tire itself out by using color to show the relief on the parts of the arch, for all the capitals, their leaves, cornices, volutes, and so forth were carved in wood. . . . Four columns, one and a quarter feet in diameter, accorded with another four of due thirds, supported by a riser which out from the wall, supporting from their pedestals the whole arch with grace. On the architrave and cornice there was a large and well planned frontispiece decorating the sides, and on top there were statues of angels holding flames in their hands. . . . The statue on top of the frontispiece showed the likeness of Livio Salinatore, the first founder of the city of Forlì, dressed as an Imperial Roman.[612]

In one sense, these prints invite the book's reader to experience the temporary architecture as a participant in the procession might: frontally, one after another in a predetermined sequence. But the rhetorical strategies of both the printed image and the printed text point in another direction. For space falls away in Floriano dal Buono's isolation of each of these architectural elements, removed from everyday life in the city and its buildings; time slows expansively as Bezzi's emphasis on an enumerative ekphrasis encourages the reader to linger over the built surface rather than moving apace with the procession's passage. Together the book's words and pictures work to evoke a conceptualized space, measured and abstract, that Henri Lefebvre described as, "the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers, as of a certain type of artist with a scientific bent."[613] In the prints for *The Triumphal Fire*, Floriano del Buono was such an analytic artist, giving the reader/viewer a plan and elevation of the chapel, and isolating the theater, arches, and perspective views away from any visual indication of the streets of Forlì.

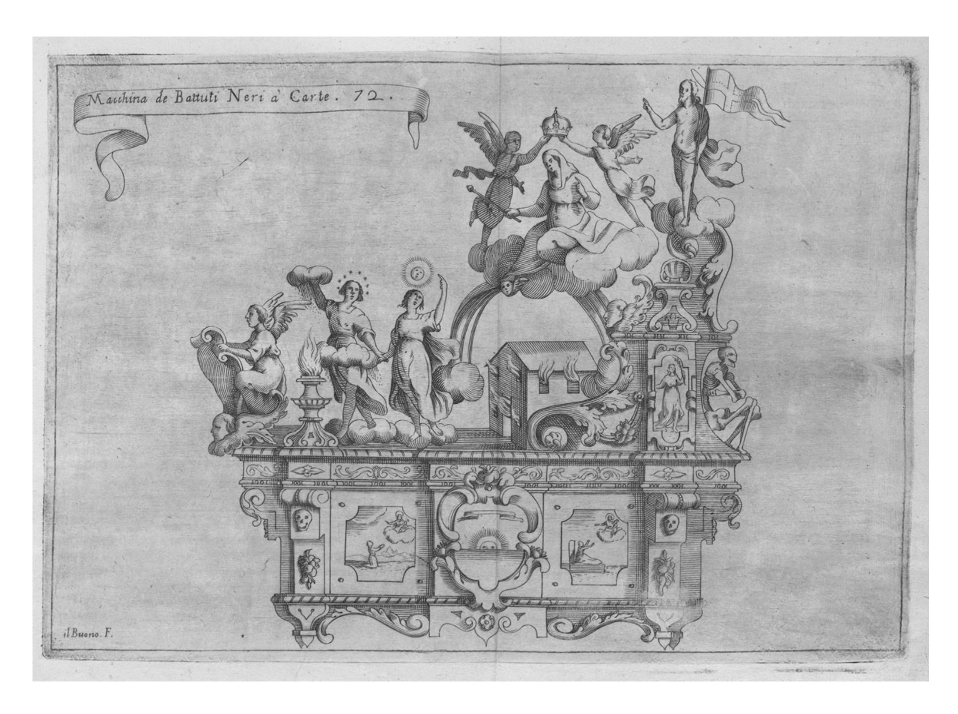
The sequence of prints of the newly completed chapel and the temporary festive architecture is followed by descriptions in both text and engraved images of the floats and banners of each of the seven confraternities in the procession itself. Once again, Floriano dal Buono's engravings eschew any description of the cityscape in which the processional wagons and their attendants traveled, the procession participants who preceded or followed them, and the spectators who watched them pass. This visual strategy of isolating each triumphal wagon is quite different from the one Floriano had used in his engraving of the 1630 Madonna of the Rosary procession in Bologna. Instead, it draws from a different and longstanding visual tradition of festival books, including those for the 1582 entry of the Duke d'Anjou and Alençon into Antwerp, the 1589 Medici wedding in Florence, and the 1619 translation of the Madonna della Reggio. The visual strategy adopted by these books, as with Bezzi's, was one of presenting a progressive series of individual images of the procession's ephemeral architecture and pageant wagons.[614]

None of the drawings brought to Bologna by Giovanni Cimatti in spring 1637 as models for Floriano's engravings in *The Triumphal Fire* now survive, but a drawing in brown ink with blue wash now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art may help us to visualize them (Fig. 84).[615] Two images of a processional float appear on the sheet, a side view on the sheet's left paired with a corresponding back view on the right, carefully aligned so that the proportions of the float are consistent. An inscription states the image shows "the Triumphal float from the confraternity of the Neri for the translation of the Madonna of the Fire of Forlì" ("Machina trionfale fatta dalla compagnia de Neri per la traslatione della Madonna del Fuoco di Forlì"). The engraving of that float by Floriano dal Buono in *The Triumphal Fire* (Fig. 85) confirms this identification.

A large section of the original sheet of paper has been torn away from the top of the drawing, just to the right of the standing figure of Christ that surmounts



84. Italian (Roman-Bolognese), *Design for a Processional Float*, seventeenth century. Pen and brown ink with blue wash. 31.1 cm x 45.7 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art.
Photo: OASC, metmuseum.org



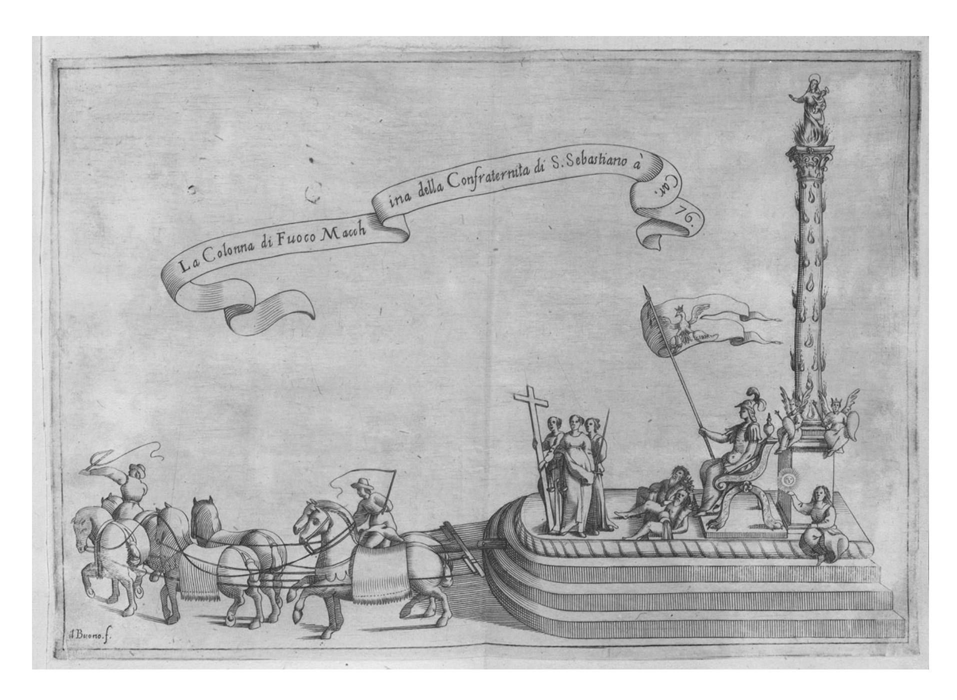
85. Floriano dal Buono, *Float for the Battuti Neri*, engraving in Bezzi, *Il fuoco trionfante* (Forlì, 1637). National Gallery of Art Library, Washington, DC

the side view of the float. This major loss removed the back view of Christ as well as the shield on the pedestal upon which he stands. At some point, after this section of the sheet had been carefully torn away to follow the contours of this shield, new paper was added to reconstruct the original sheet's rectangle. A second draftsman reconstructed the back view of Christ to match the rest of the drawing and added the main inscription on this large paper patch; this draftsman is also responsible for the scale showing five units of length, *piedi di Forlì*, between the front and side views of the processional wagon, following an earlier scale truncated by what is now the drawing's bottom edge. An earlier, more gifted draftsman is responsible for this lost scale, as the handwriting matches the other inscriptions within the more fluent drawing on the original sheet of paper.

In *The Triumphal Fire*, the engraving illustrating the float is printed in the opposite orientation and includes only the side view. Bezzi's accompanying text tells us that it was called "Triumphant Iris," after the personification of the rainbow in classical mythology, an apt name since this float followed the Battuti Rossi's Salamander which had represented rain. In the print, as in the drawing, a rainbow appears over a burning house, before which stood two maidens, labeled on the drawing "Rain" and "Sunshine" alluding to the miraculous abilities of the Madonna of the Fire to provide these types of weather when needed.[616] Both the drawing and the engraving show square pictorial fields with inverted corners (*quadro con angoli risaltati in dentro*) and shield-shaped ones (*scudi*) in the same rhythm across the float's flank, and, in both, the square at the front of the float shows the ex-voto scene of a kneeling figure praying to a Madonna and Child seated on clouds above. In the squares near the back of the float, however, the scenes are different: the drawing shows the Madonna and Child assisting an inverted figure that has fallen into a well, whereas in the final engraving they come to the aid of a man in his sickbed. The text does not specify the subjects depicted on the lower level, nor does it give us information about the exact position of the figure of Christ surmounting the float, which also differs slightly between drawing and print.

These differences confirm that the Metropolitan drawing was not originally intended as a preparatory drawing for Floriano's engraving, a conclusion already suggested by the drawing's larger size,[617] as well as its inclusion of the float's rear view, which was not depicted in the print but would be important, for instance, for the craftsmen in Forlì who built and decorated the processional wagon for the Battuti Neri confraternity. It could be that Floriano dal Buono, who may well never have seen any of the Forlivese pageant wagons he depicted, generalized his engravings of them in ways that account for the discrepancies between the textual description, preparatory drawing, and engraving of the triumphal float of the confraternity of the Neri.

There are no surviving drawings for the last pageant wagon of the procession, that of the confraternity of the Battuti Bianchi. Bezzi's text describes the wagon



86. Floriano dal Buono, *Float for the Battuti Bianchi*, engraving in Bezzi, *Il fuoco trionfante* (Forlì, 1637). National Gallery of Art Library, Washington, DC

at length, expanding what for a spectator would have been its passing, momentary appearance with lavish, extended description: its exact size and its allegorical figures of the Virtues; Livia, who represented the city of Forlì and was surrounded by the Ronco and Montone Rivers and four angelic protectors; and the Virgin Mary atop a Corinthian column sixteen feet high. Bezzi highlighted the water pouring from the rivers' urns and specified that the throne for Forlì "was so well worked that it seemed cast in silver," though it was made using the cheaper technique of silver leaf.[618] Once again, Bezzi shows his typical concern with technique, measurement, and iconography.

Floriano dal Buono's engraving (Fig. 86) matches this textual description, showing a wagon carrying the three Virtues; the two river gods; Livia enthroned, as well as the two angels who would be visible in the side view presented by the print. As with the other prints, Floriano included the horses and riders who pulled the wagon, and he added a banderole in the blank sky with the inscription identifying it as, "The Column of Fire Float of the Confraternity of Saint Sebastian, at page 76." In the six copies of Bezzi's *Triumphal Fire* that I have examined and collated, this print is indeed tipped in at page 76.[619] All of the engravings are captioned with a precise page number, indicating the close communication between Floriano dal Buono and Giovanni Cimatti during the period in which the former engraved the prints and the latter set the type for all the pages of text in the book so that pagination could be determined.

The tremendous effort to coordinate the pictorial and textual elements of the book – the former printed in Bologna, the latter in Forlì – is apparent elsewhere as well: for instance, the float of the Battuti Bigi is described in three separate places in the text, and so the inscription in the banderole in its engraving places it precisely "at page 46, 64, 82." Five of the six copies I examined do in fact position this fold-out print opposite page 46; the copy now in Washington, DC instead places it at page 64.[620] This tight coordination between Floriano dal Buono's engravings and Bezzi's text sometimes faltered, as is to be expected given the distance between the printmaker in Bologna and the book publisher in Forlì, and which happened in other early modern festival publications as well.[621] In the engraving of the Battuti Rossi's salamander wagon (Fig. 77), for example, the caption in the banderole shows a correction made during the process of engraving: the second digit of the engraved page number had to be recut to change the page number from 68 to 67, indicating the degree to which the book's producers wanted the prints' positions to be exactly marked.

This desire for precision extended beyond the coordination of text and image, for the book's intended role as the official commemoration of the procession, "the description and narrative of all that was done," required its author, Giuliano Bezzi, to be accepted by his readers as a reliable witness. Bezzi's text works to establish this reliability in three ways, beginning, as we have already seen, with a comprehensive overview of the procession and the events leading up to it, including the 1428 miracle of the fire. *The Triumphal Fire* offered its readers a complete and exhaustive description of all that transpired in relation to the 1636 translation of the Madonna of the Fire, with as much detail as Bezzi could muster.

A second manner of establishing reliability was to provide, in addition to passages in the panegyric mode praising the wonders of the day, an insider's view of the event. If one prime function of the procession was to organize the city's populace, there were nevertheless unavoidable moments of disorder or human error. Thus, the float of the Battuti Bigi was intended to show Moses going up the mountain, but, as Bezzi dryly interjects, "the Ferrarese architect, who was brought in at great expense by the Confraternity with other foreign painters and carpenters, fell ill and was not able to complete his work."[622] This narrative voice of the insider is also apparent in his description of how a column on the pageant wagon of the Battuti Bianchi (Fig. 86) was moved through the ephemeral triumphal arches on the city's streets. The lovely soprano singing of the figure of Livia enthroned on the wagon:

> covered with song the occasional unavoidable prosaic noises that were made especially when the wagon reached triumphal arches which were not high enough: by means of hidden wheels and gears [the column] was dropped down a bit. . . . The simplest viewers, who seeing it raised again to its original height after it had safely passed through the arch, believed the column to be animated, and in fact that very pillar which had guided the Jews through the desert.[623]

This reference to the mechanical devices hidden in the wagon to lower the column works in two ways. First, it celebrates the complexity of the apparatus commissioned by the Battuti Bianchi and the ingenious illusion that it achieved. Second, it positions the narrator and his readers as allies able to see through the illusion, and distinct from the naïve viewers who believed they beheld a living column, indeed the Old Testament pillar of fire itself.

Finally, Bezzi's personal miracle of completing the text established his reliability as a witness in the religious sense.[624] As already mentioned in Chapter 1, Bezzi himself was a beneficiary of the Madonna of Fire's graces: he wrote that one of the Madonna's miracles was his own recovery from a mortal fever, the Madonna of the Fire "pull[ing] me out of my sickbed to the disbelief of the doctors and allow[ing] me to gaze with pleasure at the pomp of her Triumph, so that I could . . . overcome my weakness of mind and of ill health . . . with the writing of this sacred history."[625] Thus Bezzi's printed book, the official record of the city's procession, was itself a result of his personal devotions to a centuries-old religious woodcut meant for use on just such a domestic scale.[626]

COMMEMORATING THE PROCESSION: THE COLUMN OF THE MADONNA OF THE FIRE

There were of course limits to Bezzi's reliability, some of which he openly acknowledged in his text. For example, he annotated the index entry for the standard of the Franciscan confraternity from nearby Cesena that took part in the procession with the statement that his description diverges from the banner's final form because he had based his text on its preliminary design. Clearly the twelve miles between Cesena and Forlì impeded Bezzi's continued timely access to information about the banner's evolving appearance, and Bezzi felt compelled to add the disclaimer.[627] His accuracy was also hampered when he sought to describe the column raised in the Piazza Maggiore in commemoration of the procession (Figs. 87, 88), for only the column base had been completed by the time *The Triumphal Fire* was published.

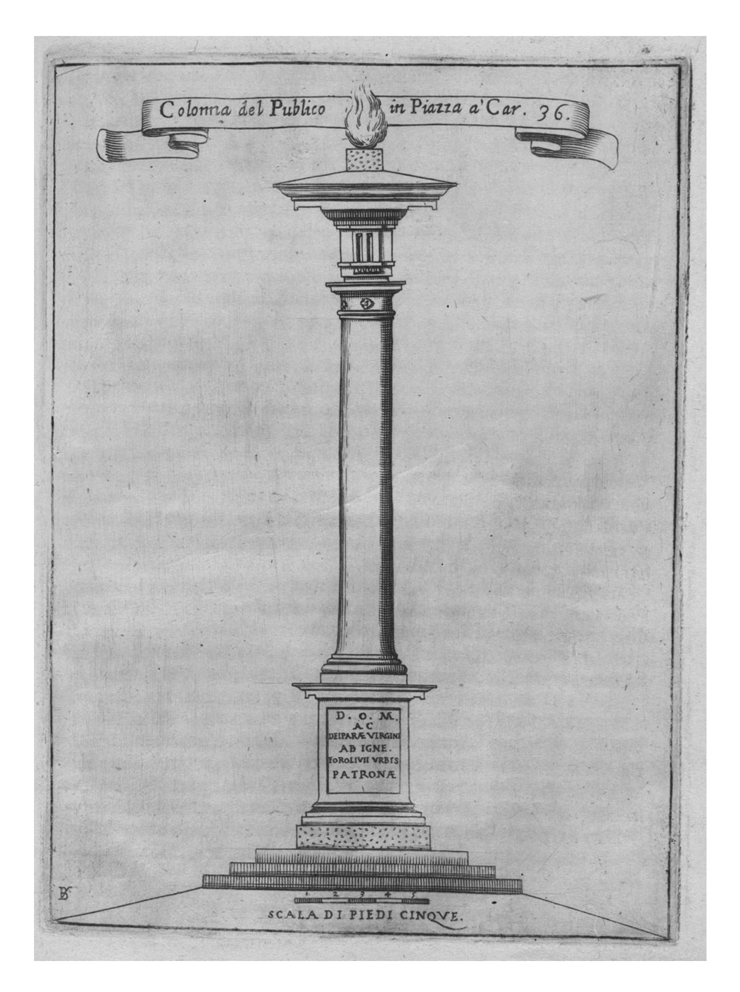
Work on the foundation of the column had begun just under two months before the procession, on August 23, 1636, when Giambattista Conti was paid to measure and survey the site. Six workers – Polo Spalazzo, Biasio Zarolino, Santo Sendi, Domenico Mingletto, Bernardo Gettini, and Girolomo Servadio – were repeatedly employed between the August 27 and September 4 to excavate earth and water from the site. Water welled up "in maggior quantità" the night of September 4, when extra expenditures were made for a pail, tub, and cord to help remove the water. Between August 27 and October 17, lime, sand, and stones (some from the cathedral) were purchased, brought to the Piazza Maggiore, and made into mortar for the foundation; on October 17 extra sand was purchased to protect the fresh mortar from the rain.[628] The wet weather



87. *Column of the Madonna of the Fire*, early-twentieth-century postcard.
Photo: Claudio Torrenzieri alias Mazapegul

slowed construction, but the base of the column, which Bezzi grandly described as "the beginnings of the future column that our public had resolved to raise in honor of its Protectress and in memory of its translation," was complete by the festive day of the procession.[629]

When the printing of *The Triumphal Fire* was finished in mid-July 1637, the plans for the column shaft had not yet been finalized. During that summer, the Novanta Pacific, in charge of erecting this permanent monument as they had been for the procession's temporary theater, suggested a marble column shaft,



88. Floriano dal Buono, *Column of the Madonna of the Fire*. Engraving in Bezzi, *Il fuoco trionfante* (Forlì, 1637). National Gallery of Art Library, Washington, DC

in keeping with their original idea for a marble commemorative plaque. In the end, the shaft was cut from a local calciferous stone known as *spungone* and erected only in August 1637.[630] Despite the continuing evolution of the monument's design, in *The Triumphal Fire* Bezzi described the column with his usual attention to precise measurement, giving the diameter of the as yet unexecuted Doric column, as well as its total height including "its capital and other trappings [*finimenti*]," of 33 Forlivese feet.[631] Floriano dal Buono's engraving (Fig. 88), carefully positioned in the book as its caption directs "at page 36," between Bezzi's description of the monument's pedestal and of the column itself, shows three steps leading up to a base bearing an inscription that declares the Madonna of the Fire Forlì's patron; a Doric column shaft with a torus decorated by florettes; an impost block bearing a triglyph; and a cornice topped by a flame. There is a scale of five Forlivese feet printed at the bottom of the

image, and the engraving matches Bezzi's text in showing a column shaft of sixteen feet according to that scale.[632]

The engraving depicts a leaping flame crowning the column, rather than the marble sculpture of a standing Madonna and Child that was ultimately commissioned. Bezzi's text mentions only "other trappings" atop the monument, but at some point after the completion of *The Triumphal Fire*, a bronze Madonna and Child was proposed by the Novanta Pacifici, which allocated the metal from an old cannon for it. But the bronze from the cannon was insufficient for such a sculpture, and on December 29, 1637, it was agreed to sell the bronze and to use the proceeds for a marble Madonna and Child instead.[633] These figures were sculpted in Carrara marble by the Bolognese artist, Clemente Molli. Very little is known about Molli's early training or work, beyond the fact that he had "spent his boyhood in humanistic study"; as an adult he was known as a member of the Accademia Incognito in Venice, a poet, an architect, a painter, and a sculptor.[634] In the 1630s he worked primarily in Romagna, notably in Bologna and Ravenna, and around the middle of that decade sculpted a marble *Madonna di Loreto* for the church of San Filippo in Forlì and a Madonna surmounting a column to commemorate the end of the 1630 plague outbreak in Castelfranco Emilia. Toward 1640, he became active in Venice, where he died around 1678.[635] Molli's most notable commission, similar in structure to Forlì's column of the Madonna of the Fire, is the Column for King Sigismund II in Warsaw, for which Molli traveled to Poland in around 1643. Commissioned by Sigismund's son Ladislaus IV in that year, the monument was designed by the Ticinese architect Costante Tencalla.[636] The capital of the Polish work is Corinthian, but like the monument in Forlì, the column is topped with an impost block that provides a definitive platform for the sculpted figure above. This imposing bronze figure of Sigismund was designed by Molli and cast by the Polish bronze founder, Daniel Tym. As with his marble Madonna and Child in Forlì, Molli conceived the sculpture of Sigismund with its lofty site in mind: the play between his raised saber, downturned gaze, and the large cross he holds is positioned for optimal viewing from far below.[637]

As Francesco Scannelli recalled in 1657, Molli's attentiveness to the similarly elevated site for his sculpture of the Madonna of the Fire resulted in an initially unfavorable reception when it arrived in Forlì on April 12, 1639:

> As soon as the sculpture was taken out of its box and laid down on the ground, it was observed by people of every sort, who studied it carefully and seeing it even bigger than they had imagined and not fully worked in some parts, they began . . . to say that they didn't like it, and that it would never work. . . . The wise artist, without suggesting anything to the contrary, had it immediately covered with sheets again, and the next morning had it placed in its proper place [on top of the column], where it was continually visible to all passers-by, and after uncovering it around noon, he said, "Now it is time to consider it and to judge it properly."

> The effect succeeded completely in pleasing everyone in terms of the proportions that were obtained with the column, as well as with the beautiful symmetry and true naturalness of the figures themselves.[638]

Molli had sculpted the figures to be seen on top of the column by a viewer on the ground; his "wise" reaction – covering the sculpture without comment and calling for judgment again when it had been installed in its proper site – recalls Donatello's interactions with his Florentine patrons of his marble *Saint Mark* in the early fifteenth century. As Vasari tells us, when viewed on the ground, the excellence of Donatello's *Saint Mark* went unrecognized by "those who did not have judgment" [*chi non aveva giudizio*]. Donatello asked to put the sculpture in its intended niche on the facade of Orsanmichele, suggesting that he would retouch it; when the figure was unveiled without any such retouching, it was acclaimed by all.[639] Though Molli did not imply he would retouch his sculpture, his strategy of inviting judgment once it was installed in its final site parallels that of Donatello two centuries before.

Molli's sculpture shows a full-length Mary holding the Christ child in a pose quite different from that depicted on the woodcut icon. There is no attempt to match the pose of the printed Madonna of the Fire even in the upper portions of the body shown in that half-length icon: in Molli's sculpture, Mary's left arm instead wraps across Jesus's torso toward his right hip; her head tilts away from him to look outward and downwards toward the base of the column; Christ turns away from his mother in order to bless the viewer with his raised right hand. Rather than any explicit reproduction of the pose of the Madonna and Child, Molli's sculpture indicates its reference to the Forlivese icon through the sculpted flames that obscure Mary's heels and rise to the backs of her knees. Even this fiery attribute is subdued, visible at ground level only to the careful observer facing the back of the monument.

The type of a standing figure of Mary surmounting a column had been established in Rome in 1614 when Paul V placed a full-length bronze of Madonna and Child designed by Guillaume Bertholet and cast by Domenico Ferrerio atop a column brought to the piazza outside Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome.[640] The column itself was antique, taken from the Basilica of Maxentius and Constantine, and an elaborate ritual of exorcism and consecration overseen by the vicar of Santa Maria Maggiore accompanied the engineering feat of raising and securing the bronze sculpture to its summit, over fourteen meters above its pedestal. The transport, erection, and conservation of the column from the ancient basilica, then known as the Temple of Peace, was supervised by Carlo Maderno. As Steven Ostrow has demonstrated, the project was Paul IV's monument not just to the Virgin Mary but also to a new Christian *pax romana*.[641] Indeed, this Roman monument is known as the Madonna della Pace, or Madonna of Peace.

Both the Marian column in Forlì and its distinguished precedent in Rome drew on symbolic associations of columns with Mary. These associations were based both on biblical passages such as Ecclesiasticus 24:7 in which the throne "in a cloudy pillar" (*in columna nubis)* was interpreted as referring to Mary's immaculacy, and medieval texts in which Mary is called "columna novae legis" (column of the new covenant) or "columna nostrae fidei" (column of our faith).[642] However, the Madonna of the Fire column in Forlì differed from the Madonna del Pace in one fundamental respect: it was not a monument to peace. Rather, it served to commemorate a single event: the procession of 1636 that moved the printed icon of the Madonna of the Fire around the city to its new chapel in the cathedral. Unlike the inscription on the base of the Roman Madonna della Pace, which describes Mary as the mother of the Prince of True Peace (PRINCEPS VERAE PACIS GENIT[VS]), in Forlì the inscriptions on the column base pair Mary's title of Mother of God with her role as patroness of Forlì, praise her as the dispenser of temperate rain and sun and protector against the plague, and explicitly commemorate the translation of October 20, 1636.[643]

Thus, the inscriptions emphasize the local rather than universal aspects of Mary foregrounded by the column in Rome. The particular placement of the Madonna of the Fire monument in the center of Forlì's main piazza similarly underscores its importance to the civic community, especially since that piazza was a resonant site in Forlivese history. Bezzi explicitly noted the column base was very near where a centuries-old structure, known as the Crocetta (the "Little Cross"), had once stood. This small oratory, comprised of a stone baldachin over a marble lion bearing a cross on its back, commemorated those who died during Guido da Montefeltro's epic victory over invading forces allied with the pope in 1282. Dante described the scene after the battle as a "bloody heap" [*sanguinoso mucchio*] of bodies, both French and Forlivesi; the decision by Dominican Giacomo Salomoni to honorably bury the dead of both sides there was seen as an act of magnanimity.[644] Between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Crocetta became a preferred site for public gatherings and acts of justice. Weekly masses for the dead were traditionally said at the Crocetta until the Council of Trent, when these rituals were moved inside the adjacent church of San Mercuriale. Thus the Crocetta was, in Federica Rizzoli's words, "a symbol of victory, of liberty, and of municipal pride ... situated in the piazza, site of city's main market, and the fulcrum of public and political life."[645] The very choice of site of the Madonna of the Fire's column rooted the 1636 procession in resonant events in Forlì's history, including the 1282 victory and its commemoration in the Crocetta.

The Crocetta was demolished in 1616, twenty years before the procession brought the Madonna of the Fire into its new chapel in the cathedral and the same year that chapel had been begun. Federica Rizzoli demonstrates that for decades the Crocetta had been in a deplorable state of conservation, and

attempts to refurbish or remove it had been undertaken unsuccessfully since the 1430s. The 1616 legislation that finally led to the Crocetta's demolition was initiated by Forlì's Conservators, and passed by the Private Council – the same procedure, as we have seen, for initiating public expositions of the Madonna of the Fire, such as the procession of 1636.[646] The column commemorating that translation of the Madonna of the Fire was put in place by the same civic body that had, twenty years earlier, removed an earlier civic monument in the same piazza.

The 1636 procession of the Madonna of the Fire was thus fixed in the stone and mortar column dedicated to her. The kinetic ritual of moving the icon was made static, petrified in the stone column and marble figures of Mary and Jesus, placed high over Forlì's main piazza, to commemorate the procession of 1636 and confirm the sacred space that had been activated by it.[647] Yet like the procession, the column's signification was also shaped by Bezzi's influential printed text. For Bezzi wrote about the Crocetta:

> This antique monument was uprooted in 1616 by order of Cardinal Rivarola, but without any consent of the public, under the pretext of removing the rubbish that had until then been made there around it.[648]

Bezzi's accusation that the Crocetta's destruction was by order of incoming papal legate Domenico Rivarola – who, as we have seen, would become embroiled in the construction of the new Porta di Schiavonia – ignores the role of Forlì's own local conservators and council, which had initiated that action before Rivarola's arrival.[649] Bezzi's phrase, "without any consent by the public" [*senza pero alcun consenso del Publico*] has its roots not so much in the events of 1616 but in successful popular efforts to halt the Crocetta's demolition in the fifteenth century.[650] Yet Bezzi's false claim set the tone for discussions about the Crocetta's demolition for decades, and even centuries. In Bezzi's telling, the column and its memorialization of the procession – a ritual that had been motivated by the call of the people – took the place of another beloved civic monument that had been swept away by papal power despite a lack of public consent.

Nor was the stone column itself unmovable. Centuries later, during the tumultuous years of Italian unification, there were repeated calls to take down the column of the Madonna of the Fire, held back by the opposition of Forlì native and Italian patriot, Aurelio Saffi. Finally in 1909, a group of young men – local tradition suggests one was the young Benito Mussolini, who was born in nearby Predappio – attacked the column, which was then taken down for public safety. It was eventually replaced in the main piazza by a statue of Aurelio Saffi himself. The column base was moved, its shaft was replaced, and Molli's sculpture was replaced in 1927 in the small piazza adjacent to the cathedral itself. There it is secluded from the city center represented by the main piazza, but nonetheless it still serves as a focal point in Forlì's urban fabric: it is the

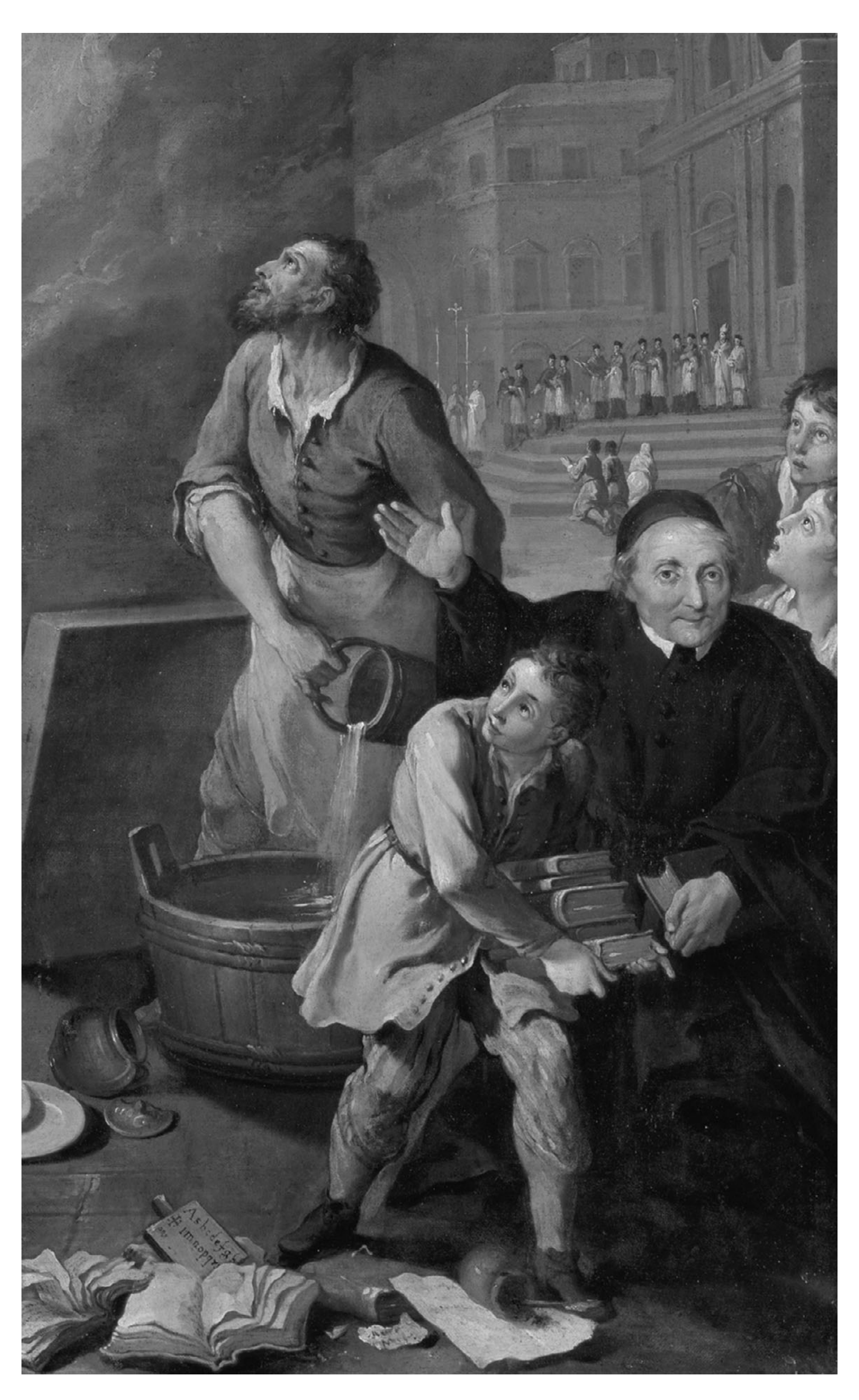


89. Children's procession in honor of Forlì's Madonna of the Fire, February 2, 2014.
Photo: Liverani



90. Children's votive offerings at the Column of the Madonna of the Fire. Forlì, February 2001.
Photo: author

destination for the "children's procession" that takes place the week of the festival of the Madonna of the Fire in which schoolchildren append votive images to the fence surrounding the column base (Figs. 89, 90, 91). In participating in this procession, these children of Forlì annually perform a kinetic ritual of their own, one that recalls the procession of 1636 commemorated by the column.



Aurelio Milani, Model for the *Miracle of the Madonna of the Fire of Forlì*, detail of Figure 95

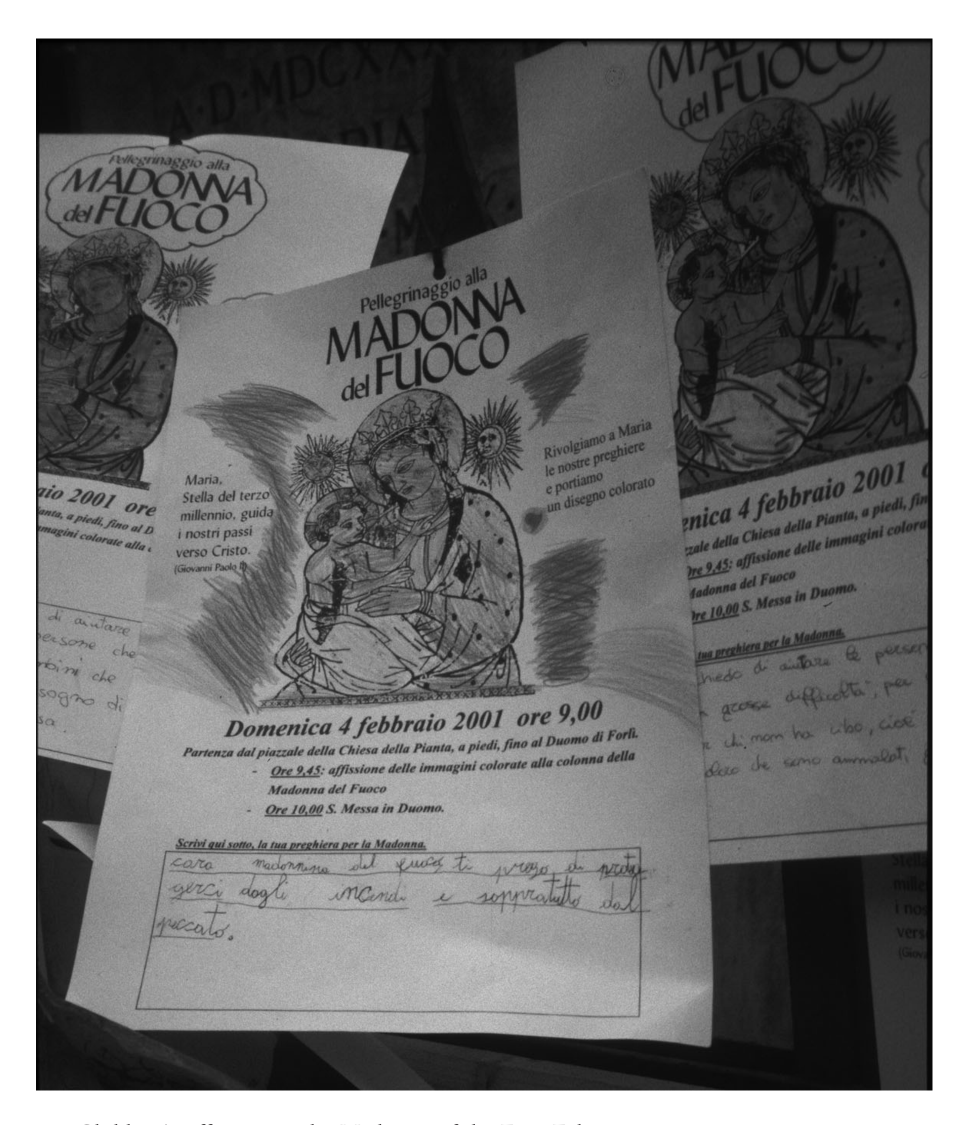
CHAPTER EIGHT

MULTIPLIED: THE MADONNA OF THE FIRE IN FORLÌ AND BEYOND

> Not being fully satisfied with shining within the city, . . . this sacred Fire of the Virgin stretched across the region with participation of foreigners from all over.
>
> Giuliano Bezzi, *The Triumphal Fire*[651]

Each year in early February, the children of Forlì bring their offerings – flowers, drawings, and hand-colored photocopies (Fig. 91) – to the Column of the Madonna of the Fire and affix them to the decorative grille around its pedestal. The photocopies are annotated in childish handwriting with prayers for the year: a typical inscription reads, "Dear Madonna of the Fire, I pray that you protect us from fires and above all from sin."[652] This juvenile devotion, so appropriate for a cult icon which began as a schoolroom image, has deep roots: though the electrostatic toner of the twentieth-century photocopy is materially quite different from the printing ink of fifteenth-century woodcuts, in adding their own pleas and coloring to these modern-day multiplied images, the Forlivese children annually reenact centuries-old practices.[653] For devout fifteenth-century viewers often wrote their own biblical quotations or pious meditations on their devotional prints and at times applied strokes of color to them as acts of prayer.[654] In the seventeenth century, Giuliano Bezzi tells us that the public commission to paint the Madonna of the Fire over Forlì's gates was inspired by the city's children who spread its image throughout their city.[655]

At the same time, the miraculous icon drew devotees to the city from across the region and had altars dedicated in its honor and bearing its image well beyond Forlì's walls. Thus, after being enshrined in its chapel in the cathedral in 1637, and then continually embellished through the official decoration of that



91. Children's offerings to the Madonna of the Fire, February 2001.
Photo: author

chapel as well as popular pious offerings, the image of the Madonna of the Fire enacted what David Freedberg identified as the third stage of a miraculous icon's life cycle, multiplication.[656] The copies of the icon resulting from this multiplication are often not exact replicas of their model. Instead, an icon's multiples may share with their model only a generalized composition and a few key features.[657] Nor is it unusual that an icon's copies lack both accuracy and completeness in their repetition of their prototype's details, for copying before the late nineteenth century generally did not prioritize exactness. As Richard Krautheimer pointed out in a classic article, the many churches called the "Holy Sepulchre" and built across Europe between the fifth and seventeenth centuries

seem to us quite different in plan and architectural articulation from each other as well as their common model in Jerusalem, but they were still accepted as valid copies by their early viewers.[658] Printing, like architecture, also at times copied preexisting works, yet even when prints replicated paintings, full pictorial exactitude to the model was rarely an important goal for the printmaker or the print's audience.[659]

By the sixteenth century, the idea of copying was far more tied up with the idea of *copia* or abundance than with accuracy,[660] and by the seventeenth century, copies of the Madonna of the Fire were both abundant in number and varied in media. As I have shown elsewhere, in the mid-nineteenth century the development of photography prompted a new sense that "not only the general effect of the [model], but each stroke, each contour must be faithfully rendered" in a copy of a work of art.[661] This modern approach to copying has major implications for how an icon is venerated and multiplied today, as we shall see in the case of a seventeenth-century painted copy of the Madonna of the Fire, which has become known as the Madonna of the Oak.

This chapter studies the Madonna of the Fire's pull on locals as well as (in Giuliano Bezzi's words) "foreigners from all over," and also the geographic dispersion made possible by the powerful multiplication of its image. My emphasis on these copies in their ritual usage compels me to illustrate them here in figures that do not isolate the object as is the usual art historical practice, but rather show them in motion, carried from place to place in procession or by multiplication in the media of books, newspapers, or photography. For the Madonna of the Fire's mobility continues, even in your act of reading this book now.

"NOT A STREET OR PIAZZA"

Though the woodcut that survived the fire of February 4, 1428 was presumably one impression among hundreds, if not thousands, originally printed from its carved wooden block, there is no mention of another one in any surviving written acount. Nor has another impression surfaced: the sheet now enshrined in Forlì's cathedral is the only extant one. This unique print, firmly set in place there through its status as a miraculous icon, was nonetheless able to multiply its image throughout the city, and beyond. Both Giuliano Bezzi and Bartolommeo Ricceputi, who had differed in locating the woodcut during its miraculous survival of the schoolhouse fire, described this multiplication. As we have seen, the woodcut labeled "Madonna of the Fire" printed in Ricceputi's *History of the Madonna of the Fire* (Fig. 52) includes a throne of flames, which, he pointed out, commemorated the original's miraculous survival. In addition to these flames, the woodcut repeats the sun and the moon, and the particular gesture of the Child toward his mother's neck, which together comprise the necessary and



92. *Madonna of the Fire* prints, uncut. Fondo Piancastelli, Forlì Biblioteca Comunale Aurelio Saffi.
Photo: Liverani

sufficient defining features of the Forlivese Madonna of the Fire type.[662] Five printed images of the Madonna of the Fire (two larger and three smaller), still not yet cut apart from the single sheet of paper upon which they had been printed, now in the Biblioteca Comunale Aurelio Saffi, Forlì, show these features (Fig. 92), as do many other such objects surviving in Forlì as well. Each of these images, unlike for example the Madonna of the Fire of the neighboring city Faenza, shows the distinctively grouped Madonna and Jesus, with sun and moon to either side of their heads.[663] Furthermore, the figures of saints arrayed around and below the Madonna and Child, but not visible in the enshrined woodcut (Fig. 56), are unnecessary and not included in these copies. Instead, certain visual misreadings of the miraculous image, such as the transformation of the lines delineating the Christ child's sternum into a cross, and the omission of the pale flower petals around each dark spot on Mary's robe, recur.[664]

Ricceputi tells us how images such as these spread to many places:

> thousands and thousands of its images [of the Madonna of the Fire] are printed every year. There is certainly not a house in which they are not seen, either printed or painted. Rare are the doors to which they are not affixed, and rare are the people who do not carry on their person a small image of canvas or silk that has touched the original. . . . In order to cultivate this mode of particular devotion, it would be good to make use of a few little spoken prayers . . . for example, the one usually said by Saint Filippo Neri: Virgin Mary, Mother of God, pray to Jesus for me.

> Or: O Mary, wherever I am, I long to burn in your fire. . . . Adding from time to time a cordial kiss on that same little Image, or to another effigy of Mary that is handy.[665]

Ricceputi's reference to another effigy reinforces that it is not the image at hand that is being venerated but Mary as represented by it.

Bezzi, as might be expected, gives us a picture with greater flourish:

> Then, as now, there was no public or private building in which one did not see the Santa Maria del Fuoco painted on canvas or at least illuminated on paper [*dipinta in tela, o almeno miniata in carta*]. This miraculous Fire, not being able to content itself with being shut up, left through doors and windows, and wanted to be adored on the walls of buildings. There was not a street or piazza in which the sacred portrait [*il sacro Ritratto*] did not appear. This began to serve as sacred pastime for boys: having just been let out of school, instead of giving themselves over to the usual childish entertainments, they all busied themselves in having painted, in adorning, and in a thousand ways enriching these already made images of Our Lady. They lit candles and lamps, and hung bells, and with their sound, dispatched nearby people of every age and sex, who ran to sing lauds and recite prayers. At the end of the litanies, they always intoned this little verse: *Regina ab Igne Protetrix nostra, ora pro nobis.*[666]

There are a number of points to note in this passage. First, the woodcut of the Madonna and Child known as the miraculous Madonna of the Fire was copied in a number of different media. Ricceputi speaks of painting and printing as well as images on canvas or silk. Bezzi also mentions canvas as the support for painting and illumination on paper. The use of painting as well as print to copy a woodcut is a reversal of the expected use of print as a reproductive medium. Second, people of all types, from young boys like the ones who would have studied with Lombardino da Ripetrosa to, as Bezzi emphasizes, men and women of every age, joined in the informal recitation of prayers. Ricceputi for his part in fact wrote many prayers that may have been used in the type of spontaneous gathering Bezzi described, as well as alone in the privacy of the speaker's home. Third, these copies indeed appeared in public spaces as well as private ones, and outdoors as well as indoors, as Bezzi's wonderful image of a fire bursting out of windows and doors makes clear. Ricceputi's more circumspect description places images literally on people's bodies ("carried on their persons") and on doors – much like the nineteenth-century ceramic plaque that was found in a niche above the door of a house out in the Forlivese countryside.[667] This wide dispersion of the image of the Madonna of the Fire throughout the city's domestic and public spaces carries out Cardinal Silvio Antoniano's injunction that children and their elders see sacred images "not only at home and in church . . . , but also in the streets."[668]

ROME AND FORLÌ

Images of Forlì's Madonna of the Fire were also to be found well beyond the city. A 1712 inventory of an apartment near Palazzo Sacchetti in via Giulia in Rome indicates that the bedchamber contained "a Madonna of the Fire on paper, in a black frame with a gold fillet."[669] The apartment belonged to Alessandro Giardini, who with his older brother Giovanni ran a productive silversmith workshop in Rome beginning in 1680. Giovanni in particular had a flourishing career in Rome as favored silversmith and official bronze-founder to Pope Clement XI, and if much of his work was melted down during the Napoleonic era, many of his influential designs survive in an engraved pattern book for sacred and secular objects first published by Maximilian Limpach in 1714.[670]

Giovanni had been born in Forlì and baptized in the cathedral in 1646, a decade after the Madonna of the Fire had been carried in procession to its new chapel there. When he was at the height of his Roman success in the second decade of the eighteenth century, Giovanni Giardini produced the gilt bronze and lapis lazuli tabernacle with golden angels that now enframes the Madonna of the Fire in Forlì's cathedral, completing that work in 1718 (Fig. 55).[671] The commission, given to him by the powerful Cardinal Fabrizio Paolucci de' Calboli, was part of a much larger project to refurbish the Chapel of the Madonna of the Fire after the 1706 unveiling of the ceiling frescoes by Carlo Cignani in the chapel's dome.[672] The project included a new altar in addition to Giardini's new tabernacle, as well as a renewed sumptuous marble revetment for the chapel walls. This extensive renovation of the chapel continued through 1770 when the icon was reinstalled in its chapel (Fig. 93), and was ultimately concluded in 1814 by the installation of a new altar table by architect Luigi Mirri. Mirri then took up the completion of the Little Church of the Miracle built on the site of Lombardino da Ripetrosa's schoolhouse (as discussed in Chapter 4).

Cardinal Fabrizio Paolucci initiated this remaking of the interior of the Madonna of the Fire's chapel (which survives today despite the nineteenth-century rebuilding of the cathedral itself).[673] Born in 1651, Paolucci was part of a noble family that had been in Forlì since the fourteenth century. Fabrizio, who left his hometown to be educated in Rome at the age of eight, went on to have a distinguished ecclesiastical career, serving as papal secretary of state for Clement XI, Innocent XII, and Benedict XIII, and himself nearly being elected pope in 1721 and 1724.[674] Despite Fabrizio's early transfer to Rome, his ties to his hometown remained strong: in 1688, author Gaddo Gaddi cited the recently ordained Bishop of Macerata's "most tender affection" for Forlì.[675] This affection is manifest in Fabrizio's establishment of the convent of the Padri della Missione in Forlì, providing an endowment for the support of ten clerics in perpetuity.[676] Furthermore, Fabrizio was responsible for commissioning the



93. Nicola Lindemain, *On the occasion of . . . bringing the Madonna of the Fire to her altar, made more magnificent in this year*, 1770. Etching with engraving, 304 mm × 400 mm (support). Bridwell Library Special Collections, Perkins School of Theology, Southern Methodist University

splendid family palazzo whose first phase of building coincided with his renovations of the Chapel of the Madonna of the Fire. Designed by Roman architect Matteo Sassi (1646–1723), this new expansive palazzo was built just off Piazza Maggiore on the site of the old Paolucci family abode and neighboring buildings.[677] Finally, and perhaps most personally, Fabrizio left his own gold-embroidered dalmatica, or deacon's vestment, to the cult of the Madonna of the Fire, and it was still worn for masses in the Forlì cathedral during the late twentieth century.[678]

In Rome, Cardinal Paolucci honored his roots by dedicating a family chapel in the church of San Marcello al Corso (Fig. 94) to two Forlivese cults, that of



94. Chapel of Saint Pellegrino Laziosi, San Marcello al Corso, Rome. Aurelio Milani, Christ Healing San Pellegrino Laziosi over the altar; Miracle of the Madonna of the Fire at left. Both oil on canvas, ca. 1725.
Photo: author

the Servite friar Pellegrino Laziosi, and that of the Madonna of the Fire. The main altarpiece in the chapel, painted by Aurelio Milani, depicts Christ healing Pellegrino Laziosi, who was canonized in 1726, the year after the chapel was dedicated.[679] The inclusion of this miracle in the chapel's iconographical program, as well as one of Pellegrino restoring the sight of a blind man, in another painting by Milani, no doubt supported the friar's elevation to saint during the canonization proceedings. On the left side of the chapel, opposite *Pellegrino Laziosi Healing a Blind Youth* and above the tomb of Fabrizio's nephew, Cardinal Camillo Paolucci (d. 1763),[680] Milani's third painting in the chapel depicts the miracle of the Madonna of the Fire.

As in the later painting of the same subject attributed to Antonio Gandolfi over the entrance to the Little Church of the Miracle in Forlì (Fig. 53), Milani's Roman painting, as well as its study in oil paint now in Minneapolis



95. Aurelio Milani, *Model for the Miracle of the Madonna of the Fire of Forlì*, (oil study for the painting in S. Marcello al Corso, Rome), ca. 1725. Oil on canvas, 137.8 cm × 96.52 cm. Minneapolis Institute of Arts, The John R. Van Derlip Fund 71.46.
Photo: Minneapolis Institute of Arts. For a detail of the foreground still-life, see Fig. 49

(Figs. 95, 49), show citizens of Forlì gathered to fight the blaze armed with a ladder with which to reach the flames and various vessels, including a wooden tub with which to quench them. These shared details ultimately stem from Giovanni di Mastro Pedrino's fifteenth-century *ur*-painting of the 1428 miracle that had served as the lunette for the first altarpiece for the Madonna of the Fire in the Forlì cathedral (Plate III). In Milani's scene, designed to fit its vertical rectangular format, a tall ladder leans to the left edge of the painting, toward the Paolucci Chapel's entrance and the church's high altar beyond. Under the

ladder, a young man seen from the rear twists his torso, recoiling to fling his bucket of water. Behind him in the foreground, a dark-haired woman pauses mid-step, black vessel in hand, to look at the woodcut – here represented as a black-outline image of the Madonna and Child under the sun and the moon – hovering intact in the flames near the top of the composition. A man pouring water into the tub, who stands at the edge of the schoolhouse's smoky silhouette, also pauses and cranes his neck upwards to witness the miracle. Gandolfi, with the compositional compression typical in his concave lunette painting (Fig. 53), adapted this figure in Milani's painting, so that the man holds fast the wide-eyed schoolboy who, in the lower right corner of Milani's earlier painting, stands poised to run.

Giovanni di Mastro Pedrino did not depict any of Lombardino da Ripetrosa's young students in his painting, emphasizing instead the communal recognition of the miracle by the men and women of Forlì who had gathered to fight the fire (as discussed in Chapter 3). In contrast, Milani not only includes the classroom furniture that Giuliano Bezzi says first fed the flames, but he also shows three youngsters of an age to be Lombardino's pupils.[681] The most prominent schoolboy, laden with schoolbooks, looks back at the Madonna of the Fire as he flees toward the painting's bottom right corner. The boy is enfolded by the figure of Fabrizio Paolucci himself, an identification confirmed by the marble-and-lapis lazuli portrait medallion on his tomb, sculpted by Pietro Bracci and situated on the chapel's opposite wall (Fig. 96).[682] The cardinal, dressed in a black that sets off the dove grey of the boy's tunic, looks out at the viewer, gesturing toward the hovering icon with his outstretched right hand. Behind his kneeling figure, we see a procession of clerics leaving the cathedral, shown as it appeared in the eighteenth century, and heading toward the site of the fire. Thus, Milani's painting places behind Paolucci's portrait a vignette of the beginning of the ritual of ecclesiastical enshrinement, which Giovanni di Mastro Pedrino, three centuries prior, had shown at its conclusion (Plate III, Fig. 95).

The Madonna of the Fire depicted in Milani's painting of the February 4, 1428, miracle was not the only pictorial reference to that icon in the chapel. The frame for Milani's altarpiece of San Pellegrino Lazioso was originally surmounted by an oval painting on copper of the Marian icon, with sun and moon, the throne of flames, and Jesus's left hand grasping Mary's collar.[683] Today this painting is kept in the church's treasury, and it is brought out each February 4 as part of the annual festivities to mark the miracle. In the Holy Year of 1725, the year Paolucci's family chapel in San Marcello al Corso was completed, a special sung mass was celebrated there the first Sunday after February 4 in honor of the Madonna of the Fire.[684] The Paolucci Chapel in San Marcello al Corso, and especially Milani's painting of the miracle of the fire, is thus, in Edgar Peter Bowron's words, "yet another expression of [Paolucci's] devotion to the cult of the Madonna [of the Fire]."[685]



96. Pietro Bracci, *Monument for Cardinal Fabrizio Paolucci*, 1726. Chapel of San Pellegrino Laziosi, San Marcello al Corso, Rome.
Photo: author

THE SALTMAKERS OF CERVIA

By the early 1720s, Cardinal Fabrizio Paolucci was both a native son of Forlì and also one of the Roman curia's highest-ranking members, so his chapel in Rome at San Marcello al Corso is a prime example of a powerful expatriate spreading the cult of the Madonna of the Fire well beyond Forlì. Yet Paolucci's chapel was not the only one outside Forlì to hold an altar dedicated to the Madonna of the Fire, whose cult was embraced by people of very different social classes as well. For example, the citizens of Cervia, located some twenty-four kilometers east of Forlì on the Adriatic coast, were from the mid-seventeenth century onward deeply devoted to the Forlivese cult of the Madonna of the Fire. Cervia was a separate polity with its own episcopal see, and its local industry of saltmaking, active since Etruscan times, made it a prize coveted by many

neighboring states.[686] Venice, for example, held a monopoly on Cervian salt since the late thirteenth century, and in 1463 officially took control of the city itself, which at this time was situated a few kilometers west of its current location, like Venice itself, in the midst of a swampy lagoon. In 1509, Venetian territorial losses after the battle of Agnadello included Cervia, which became, like Forlì, one of the Papal States. Cervia's importance as a saltmaking center meant that it, unlike Forlì, was given a favored political status within the Papal States: there was no papal governor but rather a magistrate who was paid by the pope but confirmed by local authorities.[687] Toward the end of the seventeenth century, the city was moved to its current site in an effort to address public health issues stemming from the old location's swampy environment.[688]

The Cervian devotion to Forlì's Madonna of the Fire, like much of daily life in Cervia, was centered on the activities of its saltmakers. By the middle of the seventeenth century, a couple of decades after the chapel dedicated to the Madonna of the Fire in Forlì's cathedral had been completed, the saltmakers had organized a confraternity known first as the "Company of the Madonna of the Fire" and toward the end of the eighteenth century as the "Pious Union of Saltmakers." In 1671, the saltmakers' confraternity established an altar dedicated to the Madonna of the Fire in the Augustinian convent of Saint George in Cervia Vecchia. That year, Giorgio Saccomandio, speaking on behalf of the saltmakers' union, promised to look after the maintenance of the altar, providing it with all necessary accoutrements, including hangings, altar linens, candelabra, and candles.[689] When the city was moved to its new, more salubrious location at the end of the seventeenth century, the saltmakers had an altar in the new church of Saint Augustine. On September 14, 1778, they commissioned a new altarpiece for their altar from Andrea Barbiani, a painter from nearby Ravenna for a price of for 37 scudi. Barbiani was given his final payment and one extra Roman zecchino for his efforts and work on "some angels and cherubs all of his own invention beyond the contracted work, and the design of the candelabra, vases, and cross," seven months later on April 19, 1779; the altarpiece was installed the next day.[690] Some years later (perhaps as early as 1783 or as late as the Napoleonic takeover of Forlì in 1797), the altar was transferred to Cervia's cathedral, Santa Maria Assunta.[691] A chapel dedicated to Forlì's Madonna of the Fire still exists in the cathedral of Cervia today, though Barbiani's altarpiece is now lost.

Even well before their first altar dedicated to the Madonna of the Fire had been established, the Cervian saltmakers took part in a regular ritual honoring that preeminent icon of Forlì. Since at least 1653, when three officials were elected in Cervia to oversee the event, the saltmakers regularly marched in procession from their city to Forlì, bringing gifts to the altar in the cathedral of Santa Croce.[692] These processions, during which the saltmakers carried the large fourteenth-century wooden crucifix now in the Cervian church of the Suffragio, took place about on February 4, the anniversary of the fire in

Lombardino da Ripetrosa's schoolhouse, and irregularly on other dates as well.[693] The saltmakers' gifts to the Madonna were so rich in number, form, and material that in 1694, when ornate wooden armoires were installed in the treasury of Forlì's cathedral, the coat-of-arms of Cervia was carved into one of them to acknowledge the generous donor of the gifts stored within.[694]

These gifts and processions from Cervia were unlike the coerced participation of rural communities in the religious festivals of the cities that ruled them. As Giorgio Chittolini has demonstrated, beginning in the thirteenth century and often persisting into the eighteenth, many city-states in Tuscany, Umbria, and the Marche used civic ritual as a means to extract tributes from and naturalize their dominant position over the rural territories they controlled.[695] Cervians were not subjects of Forlì but rather, like the Forlivesi, subjects of the Papal States, and while in the cases Chittolini discusses the patron saint being honored "was not the spontaneous object of rural devotion,"[696] in Cervia there were local reasons for the veneration of the Marian icon in nearby Forlì. Eighteenth-century poems written on the occasion of these pilgrimages to Forlì suggest that they were long seen in part as votive rites thanking the Madonna of the Fire for good weather during the saltmaking season and for abundant harvests of salt.[697] The roots of the devotion of Cervia's saltmakers to the Madonna of the Fire may well also be related to the fact that Francesco Maria Merlini (ca. 1600–44), the bishop of Cervia, took part in the 1636 translation of the icon into its new chapel in Forlì's cathedral, joining the bishop of Forlì, and those of Cesena and of Sarsina, in singing the vespers at the opening of the festivities.[698] Merlini, who had been ordained as Cervia's bishop just the year before in September 1635, was a native Forlivese, and historian Umberto Foschi suggests that it was Merlini himself who introduced the cult of the Madonna of the Fire to Cervia.[699]

There may well have been other Cervians in Forlì during the translation of the Madonna of the Fire through the city on October 20, 1636, for many people from beyond the city walls were present. The procession itself included not only members of Forlì's own local confraternities, but was indeed headed by the confraternity of the Holy Rosary from Fusignano, a city to the north, and closed by a company dedicated to the Madonna of Succor in Cesena, to the south-east.[700] Cesena, like Forlì and Cervia, was one of the Papal States; Fusignano and Meldola, home of the third foreign confraternity in the procession, were both marquisates nearby to the north and south respectively.[701] Nor was the procession attended exclusively by locals, as Giuliano Bezzi notes:

> [There was] equal devotion by the Citizen and the Foreigner. And in truth it wasn't a minor miracle . . . that amid so many people of different places and countries, there were no quarrels or brawls but also no other minimal disturbances. People [*Le gente*] were all joined in a marvellous devotion that did not know but to adore this miracle of the whole World made in the Fire by Mary [*Universo fatto nel Fuoco da Maria*].[702]

Bezzi's rich image of a gathering of strangers made into a single universe celebrates the devotion of the many different foreigners in Forlì.

Even amid this diversity, the Cervian devotion to the Madonna of the Fire that developed was distinctive. In 1686, Bartolommeo Ricceputi, Forlì's cathedral chaplain who, as we have seen, disagreed with Bezzi's description of the Madonna of the Fire as soaring above the blazing schoolhouse, noted the longstanding tradition of the saltmakers' regular pilgrimage to Forlì as well as their regular devotions in Cervia:

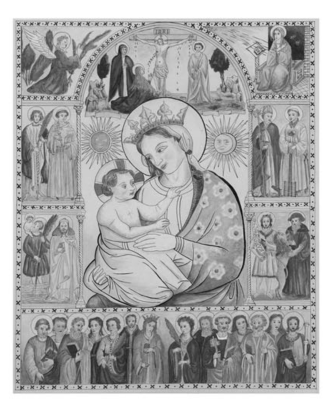
> [The saltmakers] come to visit [Forlì's Madonna of the Fire] every so often, always bearing considerable amounts of wax and coin in tribute, given that from the beginning they left there a rich gold chasuble, two silver vases, and a very large banner. In fact, to compensate for the distance, they erected in their city in the Augustinian church an altar dedicated to this image [*questa Immagine*], having a solemn feast day there every second Sunday in June, without however diverting one bit from the usual recourse to this Original [*questo Originale*], before which they have a solemn Mass with music sung at their expense.[703]

Ricceputi's description presses upon one salient aspect of the saltmakers' devotional practice: regular ritual activity at an altar in Cervia dedicated to Forlì's preeminent Marian icon was punctuated by an annual feast day there, and also combined with masses before the Madonna of the Fire itself, "this Original" that remained enshrined in Forlì's cathedral.

The procession from Cervia to Forlì became less regular and then ceased in the nineteenth century amid the sociopolitical changes surrounding Italian unification. In 1967, historian and native of Cervia, Umberto Foschi, lamented:

> The saltmakers' confraternity disappeared around 1860. . . . The altar dedicated to the Blessed Virgin of the Fire was demolished at this time, together with other altars, in a controversial mania to modernize the eighteenth-century cathedral. More recently one can add that the very class of saltmakers has disappeared with the transformation and mechanization of salt production, and thus a centuries-long chapter in our city's history is completed closed.[704]

The place of the saltmakers in the life of the city has indeed been transformed. In the early twenty-first century, the Cervia-based Cultural Association for Saltmakers' Civilization [*Associazione Culturale della Civiltà Salinara*] has revived the traditional presentation of gifts to the Madonna of the Fire on February 4, in the words of current Association president Oscar Turroni, "to keep alive the history of the saltmakers."[705] Each year on that festive day, a delegation from Cervia approaches Forlì's bishop during the offertory of the Mass to present a gift of Cervian salt.[706] The delegation is composed of four saltmakers and four city officials from Cervia, bearing banners related to their civic status. In addition, the saltmakers bring to the cathedral's main




97. Pietro Fiumi's copy of the Madonna of the Fire (left insert), being carried by Oscar Turroni, president of the *Culturale Associazione della Civiltà Salinara*, in Forlì cathedral during the Mass on the feast day of the Madonna of the Fire, February 4, 2013.
Photo: Liverani

altar a copy of the Madonna of the Fire (Fig. 97 and 97a) painted by Bolognese artist Pietro Fiumi (1925–2010).

Fiumi, who had settled in Cervia in the 1980s, was commissioned to copy the Madonna of the Fire for the Cervian saltmakers. His image is slightly larger than the woodcut enshrined in the cathedral of Forlì, and its label, framed with the painting itself, identifies it as the "Blessed Virgin of the Fire, Protectress of Forlì and of the saltmakers of Cervia."[707] Smaller letters at the bottom right of the label state that the image is a "reproduction executed by the painter Pietro Fiumi" [*riproduzione eseguita dal pittore Pietro Fiumi*]. Fiumi has indeed remained largely faithful to the composition and placement of the various scenes and figures. His only major visual deviation from his model, aside from generally fresher and brighter colors, is his reconstruction of the saints at the ruined bottom register of the print. In this lowest part of the image, Fiumi has depicted a crowned figure of the Madonna holding a book standing next to a female martyr whose hands mirror Mary's. These two holy women are shown on either side the central axis, surrounded by twelve other haloed figures. Fiumi depicts these standing saints as figures complete and coherent to mid-thigh, at which point he inserts a new strip of x-and-dot decoration to finish the bottom edge of his painting. Otherwise, Fiumi has repeated all the subsidiary figures and scenes, as well as the large half-length Madonna and Child at the center.

Other copies in many media that reduce the image to only that central Madonna and Child make clear that their pose – Mary holding Jesus with her right hand, Christ reaching out to her collar with his left, and the sun and moon

framing them – is indeed sufficient to identify the Madonna of the Fire (Figs. 51, 52, 91, 92, 93). In the context of these cropped but fully recognizable copies of the Madonna of the Fire, Pietro Fiumi's act of completing to mid-thigh the bottom register of saints and of finishing the lowest edge of his picture – piecemeal in the enshrined print – with a decorative strip similar to ones seen elsewhere in the picture is an intriguing one. For while the strip denotes through its act of framing an intentional closure at the bottom of the painting, the truncation of the figures in the middle of the upper leg attests at once to two competing motivations. On the one hand, the desire for a figurally and decoratively pristine bottom edge manifested in Fiumi's omission of the disordered fragments that characterize this part of the print speaks to what Alois Riegl called historical value [*historische Wert*] and its attendant impulse to restore the image to an originary moment.[708] On the other hand, Fiumi's unwillingness to add the knees, lower legs, and feet of these saints points to a recognition that the tattered state of the enshrined icon – its age value [*Alteswert*]– needs to be acknowledged as well. Furthermore, Fiumi's inclusion of all the parts of the picture, beyond the cultic heart of the central Madonna and Child, indicates an attitude toward copying that arose with photography, one that valorizes the exact repetition of all visual details –in the words of mid-nineteenth-century photographer Benjamin Delessert, "each stroke, each contour … faithfully rendered" – rather than the choice of certain vital and sufficient features.[709] Indeed, Fiumi's twentieth-century painted copy was likely made from a photograph, given the now ubiquitous photographic reproduction of the Madonna of the Fire, which is displayed in photographic facsimile in Forlì's cathedral and reproduced in photographs of different format for distribution to the faithful (Fig. 98).

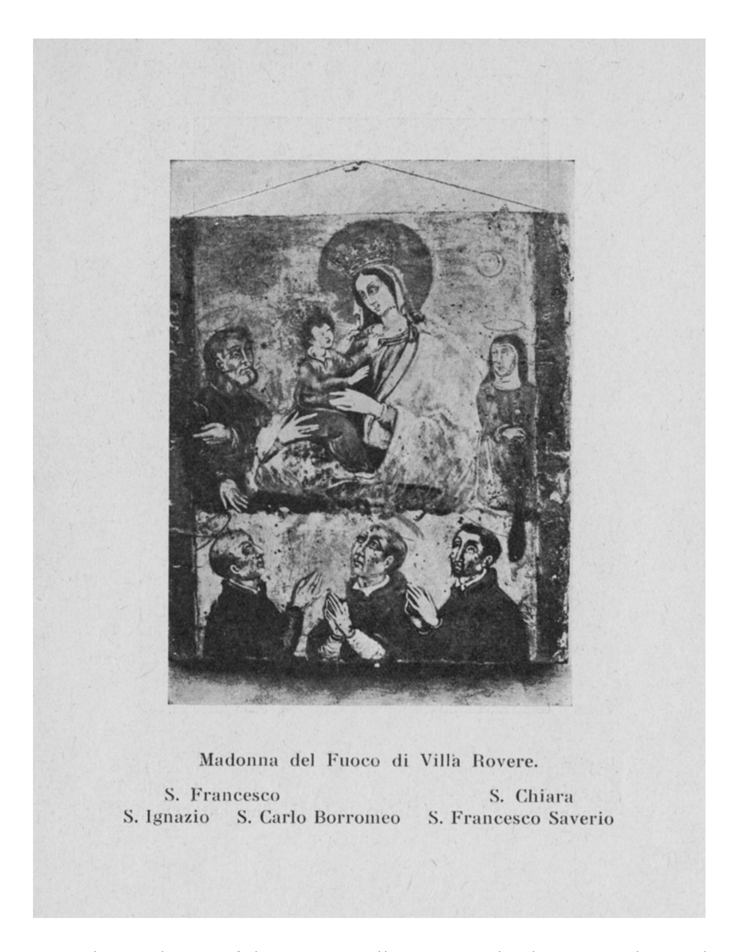
"THE SHRINE OF THE MADONNA OF THE FIRE IN VIA FIRENZE"

A much earlier painted copy, which between the early seventeenth and late twentieth centuries had been located at Villa Rovere on the road from Forlì to Florence, also retains the general compositional device of saints in a smaller scale around the central Madonna and Child. Like the Cervian image painted at the end of the twentieth century by Pietro Fiumo, the early seventeenth-century picture at Villa Rovere repeats the iconographic identifiers of the Madonna of the Fire: the crowned central figure of Mary, who holds Jesus on her right arm; Christ reaching to his mother's collar with his left hand in the archetypical pose; the sun and the moon placed to either side of Mary and Jesus. As with the medieval buildings copying the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem discussed in Richard Krautheimer's classic article mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the inclusion of these few iconographical features is sufficient for devotees of Forlì's Madonna of the Fire to recognize a picture as a copy.[710]



98. Photographic reproductions of the Madonna of the Fire, distributed in the Cathedral of Santa Croce, Forlì, February 2001.
Photo: author

Nonetheless, the copy at Villa Rovere functions in a very different manner from Pietro Fiumi's late twentieth-century painting for Cervia's saltmakers. Unlike the Cervian copy for example, the Villa Rovere picture makes no attempt to capture the colors, proportions, or even the full content of the woodcut that is enshrined in Forlì's cathedral. For there are marked differences between the model and its copy even in the key features: an early twentieth-century photograph of the now-lost painting (Fig. 99) makes clear that the proportions of both the Madonna and Child have become more attenuated than in the woodcut in Forlì; Christ is dressed in a dark tunic and the gesture of his right hand has been modified so he pats his mother's chest; Mary's robe lacks the dark-centered flowers that are notable in the enshrined print. Beyond the central Madonna and Child, the scenes of the Annunciation and Crucifixion have been omitted, and there is no intention to depict the same saints in the same arrangement as in the print. In place of the print's double register of small



99. The Madonna of the Fire at Villa Rovere, also known as the Madonna of the Oak, now lost. (From Adamo Pasini, *Storia della Madonna del Fuoco* [Forlì, 1936], p. 203.) Courtesy of l'Abbazia di San Mercuriale, Forlì

full-length pairs of saints at the right and left margins, only two saints, Frances and Clara, are shown in three-quarter length at either side of the painting. While Saint Francis does appear in the upper register on the left side of the Madonna of the Fire (Plate I), there he is depicted in a completely different pose, holding a cross and a book rather than pointing with one hand and gesturing toward the bottom register of saints with the other. Nor do the three bust-length figures of Saints Ignatius of Loyola, Charles Borromeo, and Francis Xavier looking upward with hands held in prayer at the bottom have anything to do with the standing saints arranged to face the viewer at the foot of the print enshrined in Forlì. Yet despite these changes in medium, style, scale, and content, this painting was for centuries known as the "Madonna of the Fire of Villa Rovere," which is indeed the title given as the caption of the 1936 photograph (Fig. 99).

As we have seen, the marginal zones at the edges of the Madonna of the Fire were often rendered invisible by the technology of enshrinement: the gleaming frames and crowns, the dazzling silver altar furnishings, the flickering candlelight and the shrine itself (Figs. 55, 56, 57). In those difficult-to-see parts of the Madonna of the Fire, the painter who made the Villa Rovere copy eschewed fidelity to his model, instead giving special emphasis to the Franciscan order and the Society of Jesus, by including two Franciscans, Saint Francis himself, and Saint Clara, on the sides of the painted copy, and two Jesuits, Saints Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier, at the bottom. Both of the Jesuit saints were canonized in 1622 and their haloed appearance suggests a *terminus post quem* for the painting. Otherwise, we have no information regarding the painter or patron of the picture that in the next decade became known as a miracle-working icon, the Madonna of the Oak.

In 1637, Giuliano Bezzi described this picture as a small painting of the Madonna of the Fire that had been placed in an oak tree on the stretch of road between Forlì and the Tuscan fortified city of Terra del Sole. Travellers often placed Marian images along the roads they took to pray for or to give thanks for safe passage and other favors.[711] This painting of the Madonna of the Fire, placed in an oak some ten kilometers west of Forlì began to attract the faithful asking for intercession with regards to illness and other troubles as well; eventually they took to calling the painting the Madonna of the Oak and took away so many branches from the tree in pious devotion that a little shrine [*celletta*] was built there on the stretch of the road at Villa Rovere. Passers-by and pilgrims left so many votive offerings in silver and gold that in 1629 the roadside shrine proved insufficient, and the bishop of Forlì, Cesare Bartolelli, "considered it indecorous to leave such a miraculous image out in the open on the public road." So the image was carried in procession to be enshrined in the local parish church in San Pietro in Arco, which, Bezzi tells us, was rebuilt and enlarged "with a most beautiful tribune and five chapels," using alms given by pious visitors. Bezzi names Francesco Brunelli, the native of Forlì who (as we have seen in Chapter 5) had also designed the original tabernacle for the Madonna of the Fire in Forlì's cathedral, as the architect of this splendid new church, though this attribution may be based more on Bezzi's intention to link these two projects in his narrative than on the historical record as we now know it.[712] Bartolommeo Ricceputi praised the church at San Pietro in Arco, saying that despite its remote location, "it would be worthy of a city center."[713] The seventeenth-century copy of the Madonna of the Fire that had hung in the oak tree at Villa Rovere thus became an acknowledged miracle-working icon itself, the focus of organized devotional practices in the church of San Pietro in Arco.

This flourishing local cult of the Madonna of the Oak declined as the centuries passed, and in 1974, the seventeenth-century painting of the Madonna of the Fire enshrined in San Pietro in Arco was stolen. Its current location is unknown. The parish priest of nearby Villanova at the time, Mario Forani,

hand-colored a black-and-white one-to-one scale photograph of the Madonna of the Oak, which was put in its place and still today substitutes for the stolen icon.[714] Even worse was the deteriorating state of the small shrine on what had become a major throughway, and in 2007 the local newspaper, *Il Resto del Carlino*, denounced the ruinous state of the shrine, so covered in weeds that it was all but invisible, and which in its vulnerable position close to a curve in the busy road had been hit by automobiles at least three times.[715]

Don Marino Tozzi, parish priest of San Pietro in Arco, convened a committee in 2007 to raise support for rebuilding the roadside shrine. These efforts continued some eight years' labor Tozzi had already expended, together with his predecessor, Don Francesco Valgimigli. By fall 2008, much had been achieved. The necessary permissions for rebuilding the shrine had been received. Fifty square meters of land had been donated by Meris Agnoletti, allowing the structure to be moved back an additional three meters from the road, which Anas, the Italian highway administration, had required.[716] Architect Gianluca Tronconi had offered to donate his services to design and build the new edifice, for which he would construct a new foundation and use new materials but would follow the elevation of the original shrine.[717] Finally, more than half of the forty thousand euros needed for the project had been raised.

Just as the Madonna of the Fire's chapel in the Forlì cathedral had been built in the seventeenth century with many small donations from private citizens, Tozzi sought and succeeded in collecting the remaining sum needed from the local community. On October 9, 2009, following a Sunday morning mass in the seventeenth-century parish church in San Pietro in Arco, the Villa Rovere shrine was inaugurated by Forlì's bishop, Lino Pizzi, amid much celebration. A marble plaque on the shrine summarizes its history and the intentions of those who rebuilt it:

> This little shrine of the Blessed Virgin of the Fire, [was] erected on the site of an ancient oak tree at the beginning of the seventeenth century and weed-choked at the end of the twentieth century through the injuries of time and the impact of various auto accidents. The loving and devoted parishioners of Rovere wanted to rebuilt it as it was and where it was, public testimony of faith of their ancestors and an invitation to hurried passers-by to seek things from the beyond and not (only) those on earth.[718]

As an article in the local paper, *Il Resto del Carlino*, put it, "Finally the shrine of the Madonna of the Fire in via Firenze has found peace."[719]

The newly built shrine's major difference was the inclusion of an interior altar on axis with the door, as the previous edifice did not have one.[720] The Madonna of the Oak was in the eponymous tree until 1629 and then in the church at San Pietro in Arco until 1974, when the hand-painted photograph replaced it after it was stolen. As a result, there was no picture ready to place upon this altar in the

22 **Testimonianze** **il Momento**
9 ottobre 2009

L'inaugurazione domenica 11 con il Vescovo in occasione della festa parrocchiale

La nuova celletta di Villa Rovere

Nell'edicola sarà posta l'immagine della Madonna del Fuoco

La celletta della Rovere sarà restituita alla devozione dei forlivesi. Situata sulla via Firenze, a 300 metri dalla chiesa della Rovere, l'edicola è dedicata alla Madonna del Fuoco. Dopo anni di degrado è stata ricostruita e la sua inaugurazione è prevista per domenica 11 con la partecipazione del vescovo, mons. Lino Pizzi. L'appuntamento è alle 15 nella chiesa parrocchiale dove sarà benedetta la nuova immagine che sostituisce quella rubata negli anni settanta e che sarà collocata all'interno della celletta. L'immagine è opera di Alberto Sughi, scelta dai parrocchiani in seguito a un concorso cui hanno partecipato nove artisti. In essa la Madonna del Fuoco è attorniata da Santi della tradizione locale, come Sant'Antonio di Padova e San Pellegrino Laziosi, e santi contemporanei, come San Pio da Pietrelcina e la Beata Teresa di Calcutta. «L'evento della ricostruzione - afferma il parroco don Marino Tozzi - com'era e dov'era, della celletta che rappresenta un monumento significativo della storia di questa comunità, vede ora il suo coronamento, lungamente atteso e voluto dalla popolazione». Dopo una breve illustrazione e una preghiera introduttiva, si partirà in processione verso la celletta che sarà benedetta dal Vescovo.
La storia di questa devozione risale indietro nel tempo e conferma il toponimo legato a un querceto, a un bosco di roveri, noto fin dalle guerre ghibelline forlivesi, tanto che ora la località prende il nome di Villa Rovere, o Rovere. Nel Seicento un'immagine della Madonna del Fuoco fu appesa a una quercia secolare nei pressi della Pieve di San Pietro in Arco. Di dimensioni 40 x 30 cm, era una tavoletta di legno dipinta da ignoto che ritraeva la Patrona contornata dai Santi Francesco di Assisi, Chiara, Ignazio di Loyola, Carlo Borromeo, Francesco Saverio. L'effigie fu oggetto di grande venerazione e si segnalò per molteplici prodigi. Testimonianze dell'epoca raccontano di guarigioni di ciechi e di altri miracoli. Nel 1630, su iniziativa del vescovo di Forlì, Cesare Bartolelli, l'immagine fu trasportata nella chiesa di San Pietro in Arco. In luogo della quercia fu costruita una celletta, destinata a contenere l'immagine sacra, sul margine della strada tosco-romagnola. Profanata da atti di vandalismo e investita per ben tre volte negli ultimi decenni da automezzi, è via a via crollata. Il resto lo hanno fatto le piante parassite che l'hanno soffocata, nascondendone i ruderi: così era, irriconoscibile, fino a pochissimo tempo fa. Nel 1974, inoltre, avvenne il furto dalla chiesa dell'immagine della Madonna del Fuoco, che fu poi sostituita da una fotografia in bianco e nero a grandezza naturale, colorata con acquerelli da don Mario Forani, parroco di Villanova. Il progetto di ricostruzione della celletta come era e dov'era, ma arretrata di 3 metri, per essere più lontana dalla sede stradale, già nelle intenzioni del parroco don Francesco Valgimigli, ha ripreso forma negli ultimi anni tra i parrocchiani, anche per la sollecitazione del Comitato di quartiere. Superate le lunghe procedure burocratiche per avere tutti i permessi, attraverso la donazione del terreno da parte di Meris Agnoletti e la preziosa e gratuita opera dell'architetto Gianluca Tronconi, col contributo fattivo di numerose persone, dopo circa 10 anni si giunge ora alla solenne inaugurazione. A fianco della Celletta sarà posta una lapide marmorea con la seguente iscrizione: "Questa celletta / della Beata Vergine del Fuoco / eretta sul luogo di un'antica rovere / all'inizio del secolo decimosettimo / diruta sul finire del secolo ventesimo / per le ingiurie del tempo / e per l'impatto di vari automobilisti / i parrocchiani della Rovere / amici e devoti / vollero ricostruita / com'era e dov'era / pubblica testimonianza / della fede degli avi / invito ai frettolosi viandanti / a cercare le cose di lassù / e non (soltanto) quelle della terra. / Deh proteggi fra tanti perigli / i tuoi figli o Regina del Ciel".

Umberto Pasqui



La nuova celletta della Madonna in via Firenze sostituisce quella edificata nel XVII secolo della quale erano rimasti solo ruderi (nel riquadro)



L'immagine della Madonna del Fuoco, opera di Alberto Sughi, sarà collocata nella nuova celletta voluta dai parrocchiani di Villa Rovere e dal parroco, don Marino Tozzi

VILLA ROVERE

Il programma dei festeggiamenti

L'inaugurazione della nuova celletta della Madonna in via Firenze viene proposta in occasione della festa parrocchiale di Villa Rovere che si celebra l'11 ottobre ed è dedicata alla Madonna del Fuoco. Venerdì 9 alle 21 è in programma un concerto dedicato alla Madonna con il gruppo corale di Castrocaro e Terra del Sole, in preparazione alla inaugurazione della nuova celletta mariana. Domenica 11 messe alle 8 e alle 11. Alle 15 processione e cerimonia di inaugurazione della nuova celletta presiedute dal vescovo, mons. Lino Pizzi. Al ritorno rinfresco e festa popolare.

100. Umberto Pasqui, "La nuova celletta di Villa Rovere," *Il Momento*, October 9, 2009, 22. The caption of the figure at right reads, "The image of the Madonna of the Fire, work of Alberto Sughi, will be placed in the new roadside shrine made possible through the efforts of the parishoners of Villa Rovere and of the parish priest, don Marino Tozzi." Courtesy of La Nuova Agape scarl., Via Giorgina Saffi 6, 47121 Forlì – FC

new shrine, and in 2008 Marino Tozzi organized a competition to find an artist "to remake the image of the Madonna of the Fire, recalling its history but also bringing it up to date," for the Villa Rovere shrine.[721] Nine artists participated, and the winner, Alberto Sughi, produced a painting that was widely featured in local media coverage (Fig. 100). As with any copy of the Madonna of the Fire, the new painting for the shrine at Villa Rovere shows the characteristic grouping of Mary with the Christ child, along with the key elements of the crown, the sun, and the moon. As with Pietro Fiumi's painting for the Cervian

saltmakers (Fig. 97a) made a decade earlier, Sughi's picture maintains the general proportions and brightens the overall color palette while including the saints and narrative scenes that appear at the sides and the top of the Madonna of the Fire. Like the Madonna of the Oak (Fig. 99), Sughi's painting remakes the picture's bottom edge by placing new figures together in a configuration unlike what can be seen on the Madonna of the Fire.

Sughi responds to Marino Tozzi's charge that the commissioned painting both "recall . . . history but also bring it up to date" most clearly along the four edges of his picture. At the bottom, two centuries-old saints, Anthony of Padua (canonized 1232) and the Forlivese local saint, Pellegrino Laziosi (canonized 1726), are shown together with two contemporary models of piety elevated by Pope John Paul II, Padre Pio of Pietrelcina (canonized in 2002) and Mother Teresa (beatified in 2003). At the top, the Virgin Annunciate has been repositioned and the spandrel enlarged so that a single continuous landscape with a shared horizon, trees, and clouds can stretch across the scene of the Annunciation above the arch and the scene of the Crucifixion below it. At the same time, the painting's discontinuous edge, irregularly rippling along all four sides, peels back from the bright colors to reveal a dull brown. It is in the contrasts between the smooth and harmonious pictorial surface of the painting, its reimagined figures and background at top and bottom bracketing the retained figures in the middle, and its attractively uneven outer contour that Sughi most palpably answers Tozzi's explicit charge to draw together the old and the new.

These contrasts are striking reminders that Sughi's painting is not itself a recognized miracle-working image but rather a picture commissioned to both commemorate and update Forlì's Madonna of the Fire. This new copy commonly known as the "Madonna of the Fire in via Firenze" has been, like its model, translated to its shrine in a public ritual: as part of the inauguration festivities of October 9, 2009, Sughi's painting was blessed by Forlì's bishop, Lino Pizzi, in the church of San Pietro in Arco and carried in procession from there to its new shrine on the road at Villa Rovere.[722] There it serves as a focus for the devotions of those "hurried passers-by" who, heeding the inscription on the shrine, pause to approach it.

Sughi's Madonna of the Fire at Villa Rovere thus is one node in a cascading network of multiples that also includes the woodcut now enshrined in its own chapel in Forlì's cathedral; the lost early-seventeenth-century painting hung in a tree by the road that became known as the Madonna of the Oak; and its photographic replacement in the church at San Pietro in Arco, hand-colored by a priest in 1974. To many viewers, these pictures may not form a coherent group, as they are certainly not identical visually and in many ways are not even similar. To some art historians, they may seem unworthy on aesthetic grounds or too unruly for proper analysis. Indeed they do not form a single teleological series, inexorably moving from one to another in a set sequence and at a constant pace. Yet taken together with related pictures made and revered in

Forlì, Cervia, and Rome, they map the mobilities of a Marian devotion that flows, at times waning, at times proliferating. As we have seen, Giuliano Bezzi's favored metaphor for this devotion was of course a fire, bursting forth from the containment of Lombardino da Ripetrosa's schoolhouse or the boundary of Forlì's city walls. Our analyses of the Madonna of the Fire of Forlì, like Bezzi's metaphorical flames, can be similarly expansive.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION: ART, ICON, PRINT

1. A. Hyatt Mayor, "The First Famous Print," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, n.s. 9 (1950): 73, 75. All translations by the author unless otherwise noted.

2. On Mayor, see "Oral history interview with A. Hyatt Mayor, 1969 Mar. 21–1969 May 5," Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, accessed March 30, 2011, http://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/interviews/oral-history-interview-hyatt-mayor-13146.

3. Lisa Pon, *Raphael, Dürer, and Marcantonio Raimondi: Copying and the Italian Renaissance Print* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

4. William Ivins, *Prints and Visual Communication* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1969); Peter Parshall, "*Imago Contrafacta:* Images and Facts in the Northern Renaissance," *Art History* 16 (1993): 554–79.

5. Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

6. Robert Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981). On England and France respectively, Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Luc Racault, *Hatred in Print: Catholic Propaganda and Protestant Identity during the French Wars of Religion* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002).

7. On Luther's Bible, see, for example, Jane Newman, "The Word Made Print: Luther's 1522 New Testament in an Age of Mechanical Reproduction," *Representations* 11 (1985): 95–133. On the King James Bible, see David Norton, *A Textual History of the King James Bible* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 5, and, by the same author, *The King James Bible: A Short History from Tyndale to Today* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

8. Peter Parshall, ed., *The Woodcut in Fifteenth-Century Europe* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, distributed by Yale University Press, 2009); Peter Parshall and Rainer Schoch, *Origins of European Printmaking: Fifteenth-Century Woodcuts and Their Public*, exh. cat.: Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art and Nuremberg: Germanisches Nationalmuseum (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005); David Areford, *The Viewer and the Printed Image in Late Medieval Europe* (Surrey and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010); Walter Melion, *The Meditative Art: Studies in the Northern Devotional Print, 1550–1625* (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2009). On printed images as "chastened," see Rebecca Zorach, "Mediation, Idolatry, Mathematics: The Printed Image in Europe around 1500," in *Idol in the Age of Art*, ed. Michael Cole and Rebecca Zorach (Surrey and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 8 and 317–42.

9. Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance* (New York: Zone Books, 2010), 19–28; Nagel and Wood, "Interventions: Toward a New Model of Renaissance Anachronism," *Art Bulletin* 87(2005): 403–15.

10. Christopher Wood, *Forgery, Replica, Fiction: Temporalities of German Renaissance* Art (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 99–100. See also David Areford's counterargument that devotional prints continued to be effective substitutes for their prototypes, "Print Trouble: Notes on a Medium In Between," in *From Minor to Major: The Minor Arts in Medieval Art History*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Index of Christian Art in association with Penn State University Press, 2012), 252–4.

11. Jacob Burckhardt, *Cicerone, an Art Guide to Painting in Italy for the Use of Travellers and Students*, trans. Mrs. A. H. Clough (London: John Murray, 1879), 57. See also Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, trans. S. G. C. Middlemore (New York: Modern Library, 2002).

12. "The Art of Portraiture and the Florentine Bourgeoisie: Domenico Ghirlandaio in S. Trinità:

The Portraits of Lorenzo de' Medici and His Household," in *The Renewal of Pagan Antiquity*, ed. Aby Warburg (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 1999), 204–8.

13. David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989). See also "The Art Seminar," in *Renaissance Theory*, ed. James Elkins and Robert Williams (New York and London: Routledge, 2008), 201–203; Rupert Shepherd and Robert Maniura, eds., *Presence: The Inherence of the Prototype Within Images and Other Objects* (Surrey and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006).

14. Hans Belting, *Bild und Kult: eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1990); Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image Before the Era of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 14–16, 458.

15. Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); Pamela M. Jones, *Altarpieces and Their Viewers in the Churches of Rome from Caravaggio to Guido Reni* (Surrey and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008); Alexander Nagel, *The Controversy of Renaissance Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2011).

16. Mia Mochizuki, *The Netherlandish Image After Iconoclasm: 1566–1672: Material Religion in the Dutch Golden Age* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); Angela Vanhaelen, *The Wake of Iconoclasm: Painting the Church in the Dutch Republic* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2012).

17. See, for instance, the studies gathered in Erik Thunø and Gerhard Wolf, eds., *The Miraculous Image in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Rome: Bibliotheca Hertziana, 2004), and those in Sally Cornelison and Scott Montgomery, eds., *Images, Relics, and Devotional Practices in Medieval and Renaissance Italy* (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2005); Robert Maniura, "The Icon is Dead, Long Live the Icon: The Holy Image in the Renaissance," in *Icon and Word: The Power of Images in Byzantium*, ed. Antony Eastmond and Liz James (Ashgate, 2003), 87–104; Gail Feigenbaum and Sybille Ebert-Schifferer, eds., *Sacred Possessions: Collecting Italian Religious Art, 1500–1900* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2011); Megan Holmes, *The Miraculous Image in Renaissance Florence* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013). I thank Megan Holmes for making available to me the texts of chapter 7 of her book and her related 2011 *Art History* essay before their publication; in 2013, too late for extensive consideration in my present study, three other eagerly awaited books appeared: Jane Garnett and Gervase Rosser, *Spectacular Miracles: Transforming Images in Italy from the Renaissance to the Present* (London: Reaktion, 2013); Frederika Jacobs, *Votive Panels and Popular Piety in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); and Barbara Wisch and Nerida Newbigin, *Acting on Faith: The Confraternity of the Gonfalone in Renaissance Rome* (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2013). Yet another related book by David d'Andrea is forthcoming.

18. Marcia Hall, *The Sacred Image in the Age of Art: Titian, Tintoretto, Barocci, El Greco, Caravaggio* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 1.

19. Paul Hills, "The Renaissance Altarpiece: A Valid Category?" in *The Altarpiece in the Renaissance*, ed. Peter Humfrey and Martin Kemp (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 34–48.

20. Eric Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography of the Italian Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 169. The four-volume *Storia di Forlì*, coordinated by Gabriella Poma, offers a useful general introduction via thematic essays organized chronologically from ancient times through the late twentieth century (Bologna: Nuova Alfa, 1989–92).

21. See, for example, Emma Chambers's discussion of nineteenth-century British etching clubs, in *An Indolent and Blundering Art? The Etching Revival and the Redefinition of Etching in England 1838–1892* (Surrey and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 1999), 43–62.

22. Lionello Venturi, "Sulle origini della xilografia," *L'Arte* 6 (1903): 270: "la persuasione che la xilografia italiana sia sorta dalla tedesca . . . sia da oggi in poi distrutta." See also Evelina Borea, "Appunto sulla fortuna delle xilografie antiche," in *Xilografie italiane del Quattrocento da Ravenna e da altri luoghi*, exh. cat., Borea and Fiora Bellini, eds. (Rome: Gabinetto Nazionale dei Disegni e delle Stampe, December 1987–February 1988 [Ravenna: Longo Editore ca. 1988]), 19–21.

23. Sergio Fabbri, *La Madonna del Fuoco di Forlì fra storia, arte e devozione* (Cesena: Stilgraf, 2003), 44–45 and fig. 21.

24. Areford, *The Viewer and the Printed Image*, 12. See also Roberto Cobianchi, "The Use of Woodcuts in Fifteenth-Century Italy," *Print Quarterly* 23 (2006): 47–53.

25. See Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process," in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 64–91.

26. Fernand Braudel, "History and the Social Sciences," in *Economy and Society in Early Modern Europe: Essays from Annales*, ed. Peter Burke (New York: Harper, 1972), 11–42. See also Dale Tomich, "The Order of Historical Time: The *Longue Dureé* and Microhistory," a paper presented at The *Longue Dureé* and World-Systems Analysis colloquium at the Fernand Braudel Center, Binghamton University, 2008, accessed July 30, 2014, http://www2.

binghamton.edu/fbc/archive/tomich102508.pdf and David Armitage, "What's the Big Idea? Intellectual History and the *Longue Dureé*," *History of European Ideas* 38 (2012): 493–507.

27. Walter Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History," in *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1968, orig. German ed. 1955), 257–8: "[The angel of history's] face is turned toward the past. Where we perceive a chain of events, he sees one single catastrophe which keeps piling wreckage and hurls it in front of his feet. The angel would like to stay, awaken the dead, and make whole what has been smashed. But a storm is blowing in from Paradise; it has got caught in his wings with such a violence that the angel can no longer close them. The storm irresistibly propels him into the future to which his back is turned, while the pile of debris before him grows skyward. This storm is what we call progress."

28. George Kubler, *The Shape of Time* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), 39.

29. Bill Brown, "Thing Theory," *Critical Inquiry* 28 (2001): 1–22.

30. Edward Casey, *Getting Back into Place: Toward a Renewed Understanding of the Place-World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993); Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977). See also Jonathan Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

31. John Urry, *Sociology Beyond Societies: Mobilities for the Twenty First Century* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2000); John Urry, *Mobilities* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007).

32. Hans Körner, *Der früheste deutsche Einblattholzschnitt* (Mittenwald, 1979), 40. See also Lisa Pon, "Place, Print, and Miracle: Forlì's Madonna of the Fire as Functional Site," *Art History* 31, no. 3 (June 2008): 303–21.

33. Michael Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985).

34. Brown, "Thing Theory," 4. See also Martin Heidegger, *What is a Thing?*, trans. W. B. Barton, Jr. and Vera Deutsch (Chicago: H. Regnery Co., 1967).

35. On civic religion, with further bibliography, see Richard Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 1980); Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986); Nicholas Terpstra, *Lay Confraternities and Civic Religion in Renaissance Bologna* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); André Vauchez, "Patronage of Saints and Civic Religion in the Italy of the Communes," in *The Laity in the Middle Ages*, ed. Vauchez, trans. M. J. Schneider (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993), 153–68; Gerald Parsons, *Siena, Civil Religion, and the Sienese* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

36. T. J. Clark, *The Sight of Death: An Experiment in Art Writing* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006).

37. Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms*, trans. John and Anne Tedeschi (New York: Penguin, 1982).

38. Franco Zaghini, "La chiesa forlivese e la secolarizzazione," in *Borghesia di Provincia*, ed. Roberto Balzani and Peter Hertner (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1998), 66.

39. See Cathleen Hoeniger, *The Afterlife of Raphael's Paintings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 169–91; Andrew McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre: Art, Politics, and the Origins of the Modern Museum in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 449; Cecil Gould, *Trophy of Conquest: The Museé Napoleón and the Creation of the Louvre* (London: Faber and Faber, 1965), 65–6.

40. Terry Kirk, *The Architecture of Modern Italy: The Challenge of Tradition* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2005), 91.

41. On the Festa della Federazione, see Kirk, *The Architecture of Modern Italy*, 88. On amalgamation, see Michael Broers, "Cultural Imperialism in a European Context? Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Napoleonic Italy," *Past & Present* 170 (2001): 152–80.

42. Arnaldo Mussolini, *Forlì* (Rome: Tiber, 1929), 162.

43. Zaghini, "La chiesa forlivese e la secolarizzazione," 68; Giuseppe Mazzatinti, "Forlì negli anni 1796–1800," *Revue Napoléönienne* 5 (1903): 236–61; Angelo Varni, "Forlì napoleonica," in *La storia di Forlì, IV. Età contemporanea*, ed. Angelo Varni (Forlì: Nuova Alfa, 1992), 39–55.

44. Peter Arnade, *Realms of Ritual: Burgundian Ceremony and Civic Life in Late Medieval Ghent* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996), 146.

45. Susan Alcock, *Graecia Capta: The Landscapes of Roman Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 179–180.

46. The miraculous wooden Madonna from Loreto and her associated relics were among those objects taken to France. See Hoeniger, *The Afterlife of Raphael's Paintings*, 194 and 271n24. For a discussion of the house of the Madonna di Loreto, see Chapter 4.

CHAPTER ONE: ICONOGRAPHY: MADONNA AND CHILD

47. Franco Zaghini, ed., *La chiesa forlivese nel ventesimo secolo: Storia e cronica* (Forlì: 2000), 119: "Di vivida fiamma–sul nembo rovente / siccome

regina – su trono di gloria / a segno radioso –di nuova vittoria / tu regni, Maria – su questa città."

48. Bezzi, *Il fuoco trionfante: Racconto della Traslatione della Miracolosa Imagine detta La Madonna del Fuoco, Protettrice della Città di Forlì* (Forlì: Cimatti, 1637) [hereafter *FT*], 6: "[La Madonna del Fuoco] che volle purdianzi trarmi fuora di letto contro la credenza de' Medici … come m'ha fatto superare una febre mortale." On Bezzi, see Giorgio Viviano Marchesi Buonaccorsi, *Memorie storiche … dell'Accademia de' Filergiti della Città di Forlì* (Forlì: Barbiani, 1741), 383–4.

49. Hyatt Mayor, "The First Famous Print," 73 and 75. See also the Introduction.

50. Maria Vassilaki, "Icons," 758–69 in *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, ed. Elizabeth Jeffreys, with John Haldon and Robin Cormack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 758. The literature on the Byzantine icon is enormous; for a recent cogent introduction, see Annemarie Weyl Carr, "How Icons Look," in *Imprinting the Divine: Byzantine and Russian Icons from The Menil Collection*, ed. Annemarie Weyl Carr (Houston, TX: The Menil Collection, distributed by Yale University Press, 2011), 19–33.

51. Nick Lalla, "Icon" entry in the Chicago School of Media Theory Keyword list, accessed Nov. 18, 2013, http://lucian.uchicago.edu/blogs/mediatheory/keywords/icon/; Annabel Wharton, "Icon, Idol, Totem and Fetish," in *Icon and Word: The Power of Images in Byzantium*, Anthony Eastmond and Liz James, ed. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 4.

52. Charles Barber, *Figure and Likeness: On the Limits of Representation in Byzantine Iconoclasm* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002). I thank Kristine Larison, Mia Mochizuki, and Annemarie Weyl Carr for their many suggestions regarding Byzantine image theory.

53. Theodore of Stoudios, *Epistola ad Platonem*, as cited in Vassilaki, "Icons," 759.

54. Pavel Aleksandrovich Florensky, *Iconostasis*, trans. Donald Sheehan and Olga Andrejev (Crestwood: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1996), 65. I thank Mia Mochizuki for calling my attention to this classic text.

55. Valentino Pace, "Between East and West," in *Mother of God: Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art*, exh. cat., ed. Maria Vassilaki (Athens: Benaki Museum, 2000, published by Milan: Skira, 2000), 424–32; Michele Bacci, "The Legacy of the Hodegetria: Holy icons and legends between east and west," in *Images of the Mother of God: Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*, ed. Maria Vassilaki (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 321–36.

56. John of Damascus, Part 3 of *The Fount of Knowledge*, as given on 368–70 in *Renaissance Art Reconsidered: An Anthology of Primary* Sources, ed. Carol Richardson, Kim Woods, and Michael Franklin (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007), 369; Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent, 216: 25th Session, "On the invocation, veneration, and relics of saints, and on sacred images." See also Alain Besançon, *The Forbidden Image: An Intellectual History of Iconoclasm*, trans. Jane Marie Todd (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 126–48, 172–81.

57. Bartolommeo Ricceputi, *Istoria dell'Immagine Miracolosa … Detta La Madonna del Fuoco della Città di Forlì* (Forlì: Selva, 1686), 75.

58. Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 13.

59. Robert Maniura, "Persuading the Absent Saint: Image and Performance in Marian Devotion," *Critical Inquiry* 35 (2009): 654.

60. See the chapter's opening epigraph.

61. Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance* (1939; repr., Boulder, CO.: Westview Press, 1972), 3–17. For a recent reassessment, Paul Taylor, "Introduction," in *Iconography without Texts*, ed. Paul Taylor (London: Warburg Institute, 2008), 1–10.

62. Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, 14. See also Keith Moxey, "Panofsky's Concept of 'Iconology' and the Problem of Interpretation in the History of Art," *New Literary History* 17 (1986): 271.

63. Bezzi, *FT*, 7: "Eravi effigiata la Beatissima Vergine (com'Ella v'è tuttavia) col suo Santo Bambino in collo, al d'intorno alcun'altre figure di Santi, che sembrano que' sorti, che vegliavano al corpo del Re Salomone: risplendono dall'uno, e l'altro lato del Capo della Santa Imagine il Sole, e la Luna, luminosi presagi di quel Dominio, che questa sacrata Carta dovea havere in virtù della Vergine come Luna soura l'acque, e come Sole soura la serenità."

64. Song of Songs, 3:7–8.

65. See Meredith Lillich, *The Gothic Stained Glass of Reims Cathedral* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2011), 251–9, for a citation of Rupert of Deutz's twelfth-century *Commentaria in Canticum canticorum* as a fully developed Marian interpretation of the verses and for depictions of the motif. None of the motifs given by Lillich are similar compositionally to the Madonna of the Fire; Bezzi may have been inspired by another visual model unknown to me, or by the Biblical text itself. See also Meredith Lillich, "Solomon in Bed, Archbishop Hincmar, the 'Ordo' of 1250, and the Stained-Glass Program of the Nave of Reims Cathedral," *Speculum* (2005): 764–801 and J. Cheryl Exum, "Seeing Solomon's Palanquin (Song of Songs 3:6–11)," *Biblical Interpretation* 11 (2003): 301–16.

66. Daniel Bornstein, "Dominican Friar, Lay Saint: The Case of Marcolino of Forlì," *Church History*, 66 (1997): 252–67.

67. Lionello Venutri suggests this bottom register may show a seated Madonna with the twelve apostles and St. Catherine ("Sulle origini della xilografia," *L'Arte* [1903]: 268). Nicolangelo Scianna's virtual reconstruction suggests all the figures in the bottom register were standing. See Nicolangelo Scianna, *Solving Cases: Book and Artefact Restoration* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 209–12 and fig. 257.

68. See Roberto Cobianchi, "The Use of Woodcuts in Fifteenth-Century Italy," *Print Quarterly* 23 (2006): 47–53. The Madonna of the Fire as a print is discussed in the next chapter.

69. MS lat 9384, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris. See John Lowden, "The Word Made Visible: The Exterior of the Early Christian Book as Visual Argument," in *The Early Christian Book*, ed. William E. Klinshim and Linda Safran (Washington, DC: CUA Press, 2007), 34–44; Anthony Cutler, *The Hand of the Master: Craftsmanship, Ivory, and Society in Byzantium (9th–11th Centuries)* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 215–6; A. S. Keck and C. R. Morey, book review, *Art Bulletin* 17 (1935): 397–406, 401. I thank Adrian Randolph for suggesting book covers as having similarly structured pictorial fields.

70. Ronald Kecks, *Madonna und Kind: das häusliche Andachtsbild im Florenz des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1988); Sixten Ringbom, *From Icon to Narrative: The Rise of the Dramatic Close-Up in Fifteenth-Century Devotional Painting* (Doornspuk, The Netherlands: Davaco, 1984), 52–8. The use of these images is further discussed in Chapter 4.

71. The Madonna of the Fire (originally perhaps some 56 centimeters high and 40 centimeters wide) is larger than the very smallest extant thirteenth- and fourteenth-century personal Marian panels, which Victor Schmidt characterizes as about 20 cm in height. Schmidt gives 60–70 cm as "normal" height for diptychs and triptychs, and cites an entry of an unnamed hairdresser's "cholmo da chamera" in Neri di Bicci's fifteenth-century *Ricordanze*, which he associates with a panel in the Berenson Collection measuring 604 × 6 cm unframed (*Painted Piety: Panel Paintings for Personal Devotion in Tuscany, 1250–1400* [Florence: Centro Di della Edifimi, 2005], 34, 36, and 63). Susanne Kubersky-Piredda suggests an upper limit of *colmi da camera piccolo* of about 90 centimeters, including the frame, "per cui l'altezza della rappresentazione stessa spesso corrispondeva solo alla metà circa dell'altezza totale" ("Immagini devozionali nel Rinascimento fiorentino: produzione, commercio, prezzi," 115–25 in Marcello Fantoni, Louisa Matthew and Sara Matthews-Grieco, *The Art Market in Italy, 15th–17th Centuries/Il Mercato dell'Arte in Italia, secc. XV–XVII* [Ferrara: Franco Cosimo Panini Editore, 2003]).

72. See, with further bibliography, Paul Davies, "Framing the Miraculous: The Devotional Functions of Perspective in Renaissance Tabernacle Design," *Art History*, online early view DOI: 10.1111/1467-8365.12032 | ISSN 0141–6790.

73. Holmes, *The Miraculous Image*, 215–8.

74. Several references to "cona una cum tabernaculo suo," in Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, *Artistes, patriciens et confréries: production et consommation de l'œuvre d'art à Palerme et en Sicile occidentale (1348–1460)* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1979), 30–7; repeated references in the inventories of the Magistrato dei Pupilli in the Archivio di Stato Firenze, to "una Vergine Maria" being "in un tabernacholo di legnio," or "tabernacolino," Jacqueline Musacchio, *Art, Marriage, and Family in the Florentine Renaissance Palace* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), 300n231, 301n232, 241, and 301. See also Lars Jones, "*Visio Divina?* Donor Figures and Representations of Imagistic Devotion: The Copy of the 'Virgin of Bagnolo' in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence," 30–55 in Victor Schmidt, ed., *Italian Panel Painting of the Duecento and Trecento* (National Gallery of Art: Washington, DC, distributed by Yale University Press, 2002), 50–1, 51n15 and Peter Thornton, *The Italian Renaissance Interior, 1400–1600*, (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1991), 261–5.

75. Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, fig. 222. Edward B. Garrison, *Italian Romanesque Panel Painting: An Illustrated Index* (London: Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 1998), a new edition on CD-ROM of Garrison's 1949 study of the same title, index number 303. Princeton triptych, Pisan domestic altar, 13th century, 42.25 cm × 2.2 cm overall (accession no. y 1958–126). I thank Betsy Rosasco for confirming these measurements.

76. Garrison, *Italian Romanesque Panel Painting*, 1998, index number 284. Cleveland Museum of Art, No. 1966.237. 425 cm × 3 cm including wings.

77. Garrison, *Italian Romanesque Panel Painting*, index number 300. 583 cm × 8 cm.

78. Garrison, *Italian Romanesque Panel Painting*, index number 304. 87 cm x 130 cm including wings.

79. Blanton Art Museum, 53.98 cm x 47.63 cm (all three panels). The artist, who is also known as Simone dei Crocifissi for the large crucifixes he painted late in his career, was active in the second half of the fourteenth century. See Caroline Villers, Robert Gibbs, Rebecca Hellen, and Annette King, "Simone dei Crocefissi's 'Dream of the Virgin' in the Society of Antiquaries, London," *Burlington Magazine* 142 (2000): 481–6; Robert Gibbs, "Bolognese Trecento Painting," *Burlington Magazine* 120 (1978): 236–8; Victoria Markova, "The 'Annunciation' from the Collection of Moscow's Pushkin Museum and Simone dei Crocefissi's Later Works, *Burlington Magazine* 120 (1978): 4–8.

80. Hubert Damisch, *A Theory of /Cloud/: Toward a History of Painting*, trans. Janet Lloyd (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002).

81. Diane Finiello Zervas, ed., *Orsanmichele a Firenze* (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini Editore, 1996), 104–12; Timothy Verdon and Filippo Rossi, *Mary in Western Art* (Manchester, VT: Hudson Hills Press, 2005), 56–61.

82. Jacopo da Voragine, as cited and translated in Zervas, *Orsanmichele a Firenze*, 111.

83. On that "Virgin in the Sun," see Larry Silver, "'Full of Grace': Mariolatry in Post-Reformation Germany," in *The Idol in the Age of Art: Objects, Devotions, and the Early Modern World*, ed. Michael Cole and Rebecca Zorach (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), 289–315.

84. See note 63 above.

85. Eileen Reeves, *Painting the Heavens: Art and Science in the Age of Galileo* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 125–6.

86. See with further bibliography, Erik Thunø, "The Cult of the Virgin, Icons and Relics in Early Medieval Rome: A Semiotic Approach," *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia* 17(2004): 81–7; John Osbourne, "Images of the Mother of God in Early Medieval Rome," in *Icon and Word: the Power of Images in Byzantium*, ed. Antony Eastmond and Liz James (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 136–41; Gerhard Wolf, *Salus Populi Romani: Die Geschichte römischer Kultbilder im Mittelalter* (Weinheim: VCH Acta humaniora, 1991), 119–24; Marion Lawrence, "Maria Regina," *Art Bulletin* 7(1925): 150–61.

87. Millard Meiss, "The Madonna of Humility," *Art Bulletin*, XVIII (1936): 435–65.

88. William Tronzo, "Apse Decoration, the Literature and the Perception of Art in Medieval Rome," in *Italian Church Decoration of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance*, ed. William Tronzo (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 173–4; Dale Kinney, "The Apse Mosaic of Santa Maria in Trastevere," 18–26 in *Reading Medieval Images: The Art Historian and the Object*, ed. E. Sears and Thelma Thomas (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001); Ernst Kitzinger, "A Virgin's Face: Antiquarianism in Twelfth-Century Art," *Art Bulletin* 62 (1980): 6–19.

89. I thank Annemarie Weyl Carr for her acute comments on the crowned Madonna type.

90. Meiss, "Madonna of Humility," 453n58.

91. Dorothy Shorr, *The Christ Child in Devotional Images in Italy during the XIV Century* (New York: George Wittenborn, 1954), 128–33.

92. The painting by Jacopo del Casentino (or a follower) is in the Yale University Art Gallery (1943.209); those by followers of Bernardo Daddi can be found at the Walters Art Gallery (37.553) and the New Orleans Museum of Art (Kress 61.60). On Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Massa Marittima altarpiece, see Diana Norman, "'In the Beginning was the Word': An Altarpiece by Ambrogio Lorenzetti for the Augustinian Hermits of Massa Marittima, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 58 (1995): 577–84; Chiara Frugoni, ed., *Pietro e Ambrogio Lorenzetti* (Florence: Casa Editrice Le Lettere, 2002), 156–61; and Sharon Dale, "Ambrogio Lorenzetti's *Maestà* at Massa Marittima," *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 8 (1989): 6–11.

93. Paolo Veneziano, *Madonna and Child*, A. Crespi Collection, Milan, ca. 1340, 1077 cm × 7 cm. Michelangelo Muraro, *Paolo da Venezia* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 1970), 39–40, plate XXXIV. The painting is also in the online catalogue of the Fondazione Federico Zeri, entry number 3993. I thank Adrian Randolph for suggesting this and other paintings as comparanda and for his helpful comments on the iconography more generally.

94. Shorr, *The Christ Child in Devotional Images*, 130.

95. Richard Krautheimer, "Terra Cotta Madonnas," *Parnassus* 8 (Dec 1936): 4–8, 37; Peter Parshall, "Fra Filippo Lippi and the Image of St. Luke," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* (2007/8): 19.

96. Bissera Pentcheva, "The 'Activated' Icon: the Hodegetria Procession and Mary's *Eisodos*," in *Images of the Mother of God: Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*, ed. Maria Vassilaki (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 197. See also Maria Vassilaki, *Mother of God: Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art* (Athens, 2000–2001), 372–87; Bacci, "The Legacy of the Hodegetria: Holy Icons and Legends between East and West"; Evelyn Sandberg Vavalà, *L'iconografia della Madonna col Bambino nella pittura italiana del Dugento* (Rome: Multigrafica Editrice, 1983), 29–55.

97. Anthony Cutler, *The Hand of the Master: Craftsmanship, Ivory, and Society in Byzantium (9th–11th Centuries)* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 178. See also the "Prima modifcazione" of the Hodegetria type as described by Sandberg Vavalà, *L'iconografia della Madonna col Bambino*, 42–5 and tav. XVI.

98. This icon is housed in the church of Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome, first in Andrea Bregno's 1478 "macchina marmoreal in forma di arco trionfale," and after 1627 in the baroque main altar that replaced it. Gio. Battista Pallotto, *Origine del Tempio Dedicato in Roma alla Vergine Madre di Dio Maria Presso alla Porta Flaminia, detto hoggi del Popolo* (Rome: Per Francesco Moneta, 1646), 75–7.

99. Marian paintings attributed to Saint Luke are discussed further in Chapter 2.

100. Walter Angelelli, "La Madonna del Popolo," in *Santa Maria del Popolo: Storia e restauri*, ed. Ilaria

Miarelli Mariani and Maria Richiello (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 2009), 214: "una spia della volontà del pittore di esprimere un più intimo contatto tra madre e figlio."

101. Venturi, "Sulle origini," 270: "A tutta prima si nota nella xilografia uno spiccato arcaismo, che poi si reduce alla Madonna e al Bambino del centro. È anzi molto strana la differenza fra queste e le figure secondarie. Nel centro sono bruttissimi gli occhi grandi a mandorla, le mani mal formate con le dita tronche, i capelli arcaicamente ondulati, la testa del Bambino grossa e rachitica, la rozza corona della Madonna … le differenze di disegno si spiegano, quando si osservi che le più piccolo figure sono le migliori, le più veriste, le più quattrocentesche; poi a mano a mano che le dimensioni augmentano cresce l'arcaismo del disegno, che diventa incapacità nelle due maggiori figure. È dunque da suppore che un miniatore, o meglio un cesellatore, valente nelle piccolo dimensione non pratico delle grandi, datosi all'incisione, con quella facilità usuale nel '400 a passare da un'arte a un'altra, sia stato l'autore della Madonna del Fuoco. Oppure si può supporre che la Madonna fosse un'immagine fissata dalla tradizione, imposta all'artista, il quale non avesse avuto perciò libertà d'azione se non nelle figure laterali dei Santi."

102. "[I]1 gruppo central è realizzato con linea larga e ad ampi contorni mentre le figure della cornice sono delineate in modo più minute forse perchè la parte central ripeteva un'immagine preesistente già fissata dalla tradizione o forse perchè l'intagliatore della matrice lignea si valse per le due parti di disegni forniti da autori diversi." Evelina Borea, "Appunti sulla fortuna delle xilografie antiche," in *Xilografie italiane del Quattrocento da Ravenna e da Altri Luoghi* , ed. Evelina Borea and Fiora Bellini (Ravenna: Longo Editore, 1987), 31].

103. Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 352.

104. Martin Warnke, "Italienische Bildtabernackel bis zum Fruhbarock," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenen Kunst* III F 19 (1968): 61–102.

105. "Acquisitions 1993," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 22 (1994): 74; Richard Offner, *A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting: The Fourteenth Century: Bernardo Daddi and his Circle*, Section III, vol. V, ed. Miklós Boskovits (Florence: Giunti Gruppo Editoriale, 2001), 174–8.

106. Sven Sandström, *Levels of Unreality: Studies in Structure and Construction in Italian Mural Painting During the Renaissance* (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1963), 61–4.

107. Lars Jones, "*Visio Divina?* Donor Figures and Representations of Imagistic Devotion: The Copy of the 'Virgin of Bagnolo' in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence," in *Italian Panel Painting of the Duecento and Trecento*, ed. Victor Schmidt (National Gallery of Art: Washington, DC, distributed by Yale University Press, 2002), 30–55.

108. An online image of the pre-conservation image is available at The J. P. Getty Trust website, accessed May 20, 2014, http://www.getty.edu/art/gettyguide/artObjectDetails?handle=tech&artobj=1044&artview=55532.

109. Megan Holmes, "Miraculous Images in Renaissance Florence," *Art History* 34 (2011): 450–1, fig. 17.

110. It has been suggested that the Madonna Bianca is an early-fifteenth-century Venetian woodcut, and one version of the miracle story, published by Massimo Battolla on the occasion of the275th anniversary of the crowning of the Madonna Bianca, describes the image as "in una carta antica sculpita" [carved into an antique paper]; "sculpita" might indicate some process of impressing. In any case, any hint of printed ink is difficult to see either in person at the icon's shrine or from the color reproduction published in 2000. Giovanna Rotondi Terminiello, ed., *Nicolò Corso: Un pittore per gli Olivetani: Arte in Liguria alla fine del Quattroccento*, exh. cat. (L Spezia: Palazzo della Provincia, 1986), 143n3 describes it as, "Xilografia colorata su pergamena, cm. 654 × 0; databile verosimilmente al primo quarto del sec. XV." She adds, "Nessuna notizia si possiede sulla provenienza dell'opera che presenta caratteristiche compositive con chiare influence nordiche, sopratutto boeme; la scritta del cartiglio, con chiare inflessioni venete, sembra tuttavia indirizzare verso Venezia, dove, é noto, furono realizzate le prime xilografie italiane, di cui la Madonna Bianca potrebbe essere un raro esemplare." Jane Garnett and Gervase Rosser describe it as "an early Venetian xylograph" and an "engraving" ("Translations of the Miraculous: Cult Images and Their Representations in Early Modern Liguria," in *The Miraculous Image*, ed. Thunø and Wolf, 209 and 210 respectively).

111. Giuliano Lamorati, *Historie di Lungiana* (Massa: Girolamo Marini, 1685), 54: "Da cui si viddero con occhi poco men, che affogati in un diluvio, nella detta Imagine smarrire à poco à poco li colori di fumo, e cangiarsi in nieve. Il divin Bambino dal seno della Madre passarsene sù le ginocchia. Maria giunger palma à palma: fissar gl'occhi nel volto del Figlio, camparir supplicante. Fra le mani del divino Fanciullo apparendo li due versi. *Madre mia quell ch'à te piace mi contenta, Pur ch'il peccator dal mal far si penta.*" A summary of the statement signed by notary Giovanni di Michele di Vernaccia is kept in the church of San Lorenzo, where the Madonna Bianca is enshrined, describing the event as follows: "[I]noltre [Luciardo] vide la mano sinistra di Maria, con la quale reggeva il Bambino, andarsi a congiungere con la destra. Intanto apparve nelle mani di Gesù un breve sul quale era scritto: 'Madre mia çonte piace me contenta pur che il peccatore del mal se penta.'"

112. Victor Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image: An Insight into Early Modern Meta-Painting* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

113. Maniura, "The Icon is Dead, Long Live the Icon," 87–104. Marian pictures painted by Saint Luke are discussed further in Chapter 2.

114. Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 22–7. See also David Areford, "Multiplying the Sacred: The Fifteenth-Century Woodcut as Reproduction, Surrogate, Simulation," in *The Woodcut in Fifteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Peter Parshall (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, distributed by New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), 124–5.

115. Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 23 and 27.

116. Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 25.

117. Ephraim the Athenian, *A Narrative on the Founding of the Holy Monastery of Kykkos and the History of the Miraculous Icon of the Mother of God* (Nicosia: Research Centre of Kykkos Monastery, 1996), 22: "[The icon] depicts the Only-Begotten One on Her left and is called the Hodegetria." I thank Annemarie Weyl Carr for bringing this text to my attention.

118. Don Denny, *Annunciation from the Right: From Early Christian Times to the Sixteenth Century* (PhD diss., New York University, 1977; published by Garland Publishing); David Wilkins, "Opening the Doors to Devotion: Trecento Triptychs and Suggestions Concerning Images and Domestic Practice in Florence," in *Italian Panel Painting of the Duecento and Trecento: Studies in the History of Art 61*, ed. Victor Schmidt (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art Washington; distributed by Yale University Press, 2001), 372.

CHAPTER TWO: IMPRINT: PAPER, PRINT, AND MATRIX

119. Bezzi, *FT*, 7: "una Imagine di nostra Signora rozzamente stampata in legno sopra un foglio. . . . Era ancor nuovo allhora quell'arteficio, e chi sà, che non fusse la prima stampa, che uscisse dal suo primo Artefice, come la Vergine fù la prima ad uscire dalle mani del Facitore del tutto?"

120. Ricceputi, *Istoria*, 14: "io cerchi in questi pochi caratteri altro che d'imprimere ne' cuori a'fedeli la vera divozione di MARIA Vergine nelle sue Immagini, e massime in questa di cui Favello."

121. Wolf, *Salus Populi Romani*, 131–8, 240. See also Kristin Noreen, "The Icon of Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome: An Image and Its Afterlife," *Renaissance Studies* 19 (2005): 660–72; Giulia Barone, "Immagini miracolose a Roma nella fine del Medio Evo," in *The Miraculous Image*, ed. Thunø and Wolf, 123–33; Amber McAlister Blazer, "From Icon to Relic: The Baroque Transformation of the *Salus Populi Romani*," *Athanor* 13 (1995): 31–42; Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 44–77.

122. Wolf, *Salus Populi Romani*, 71–3; Richard Ingersoll, "Ritual Use of Public Space in Renaissance Rome," (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1985), 224–6; Stephen Ostrow, *Art and Spirituality in Counter-Reformation Rome: The Sistine and Pauline Chapels in S. Maria Maggiore* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

123. Gerhard Wolf, "Icons and Sites: Cult Images of the Virgin in Medieval Rome," in *Images of the Mother of God: Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*, ed. Maria Vassilaki (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 31–3.

124. Michele Bacci, *Il penello dell'evangelista: Storia delle immagini sacre attribuite a san Luca* (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 1998).

125. Katherine McDonald, "*Et Verbum Caro Factum Est*: The Prayer-Book of Michelino da Besozzo," in *Medieval Texts and Images: Studies of Manuscripts from the Middle Ages*, ed. Margaret Manion and Bernard Muir (Chur, Switzerland: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1991), 201–6.

126. A color image is available online at Richard Stracke's Christian Iconography" site, accessed October 11, 2014, http://www.christianiconography.info/staMariaMaggiore/lukeMadonnaCroce.htm.

127. Gerhard Wolf, "Regina Coeli, Facies Lunae, 'et in Terra Pax': Akspekte der Ausstattung der Cappella Paolina in S. Maria Maggiore," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 27/28 (1991–2): 324–6.

128. These panels do not comprise the now-lost vault fresco of "un S. Luca che tiene la imagine della gloriosa Madonna di Santa Maria Maggiore" that Croce was documented as painting in the Stanza della Madonna of Santa Maria Maggiore, and indeed may not have been painted by Croce A. M. Corbo, "I pittori della cappella Paolina in S. Maria Maggiore," *Palatino* 9 (1967): 310; Holgar Steinemann, "Baldassarre Croce: Ein Maler der katholischen Reform," Magisterarbeit, Universität Stuttgart, 1996, cat. no. 36, pp. 109–10. I thank Steven Ostrow and Holgar Steinemann for discussing these panels and Croce's work in Santa Maria Maggiore with me.

129. Wolf, "Regina Coeli," 326.

130. Bezzi, *FT*, 10: "questa sagrata Carta . . . una carta d'obligatione con Dio, che è per per appunto questo miracoloso Foglio."

131. For this definition of printing, see Bamber Gascoigne, *How to Identify Prints* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2004), section 1.

132. For a recent insightful overview, see Caroline Walker Bynum, *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (New York: Zone Books, 2011).

133. Nicolangelo Scianna, "Analisi della xilogafia della Madonna col Bambino e santi denominata

Madonna del Fuoco," an unpublished 15-page typewritten report of the analysis that took place in the Cathedral of Forlì in 1989–90. I consulted the copy in the Biblioteca Classense, Ravenna. See also Nicolangelo Scianna, "Analisi sulla silografia denominata *Madonna del Fuoco*," *Grafica d'arte* 7(1996):3–7 and Nicolangelo Scianna, *Solving Cases: Book and Paper Artifact Restoration* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 209–12.

134. Ricceputi, *Istoria*, 26: "più volte tarlata la tavola istessa di legno cui sta attaccata, sia stata necessario mutarla."

135. The two papers have different densities of laid lines, with the top piece showing 20 laid lines every 28–30 mm and the bottom piece 20 laid lines every 23–25 mm. Scianna, unpublished "Analisi," 3.

136. Scianna, unpublished "Analisi," 4: "Dall'esame visivo e dai dati raccolti si può chiaramente datare la carta fra il XIV e XV sec."

137. Paper sizes in use in late-fourteenth-century Bologna are given in Carmen Bambach, *Drawing and Painting in the Italian Renaissance Workshop: Theory and Practice, 1300–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 364. During the fifteenth century, there was not a single standard way to make large prints as printmakers experimented with various procedures. The 1481 *Ruined Temple* engraving designed by Bramante (708 mm × 512 mm), printed from a single plate on two joined pieces of paper, is an instructive case. See Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print*, 105–6; Suzanne Boorsch, "The Oversize Print in Italy," in *Grand Scale: Monumental Prints in the Age of Dürer and Titian*, ed. Larry Silver and Elizabeth Wyckoff, exh. cat. (Wellesley: Davis Museum and Cultural Center, 2008), 39; Christian Kleinbub, "Bramante's *Ruined Temple* and the Dialectics of the Image," *Renaissance Quarterly* 63 (2010): 412–58.

138. Contrary to Schreiber's catalogue entry placing both blocks in the Modena Accademia delle Belle Arti and despite his detailed description of Mary's starry-crowned head and "clumps of hair over her ears," the woodblock for the top half of the print seems not to have been in Modena since at least 1934. Wilhelm Ludwig Schreiber, *Handbuch der Holz- und Metalschnitte des XV. Jahrhunderts* (1926; repr., Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1969), S. 1047, 530 mm × 375 mm: "Die Jungfrau trägt eine aus vielen Sternen gebildete Krone und einen Doppelreifnimbus mit Bogenkreis, ihr Gesicht ist lieblich, ihre Haare sind lang und in Puffen über das Ohr gekämmt." Maria Goldoni, *I legni incisi della Galleria Estense: Quattro secoli di stampa nell'Italia Settentrionale* (Modena: Mucchi Editore, 1986), 70–4 effectively reviews the efforts to identify the blocks and print described by Schreiber, and she suggests the survival of the bottom of the Marian print is due to the use of the other side of the block to make complete printed images of the Madonna of Loreto. I am very grateful to Richard Field for sharing his study photographs, taken in Modena, of the bottom block and a modern impression from it and for referring me to Goldoni's important catalogue.

139. Linda Stiber, Elmer Eusman, and Slyvia Albro, "The Triumphal Arch and the Large Triumphal Carriage of Maximilian I: Two Oversized, Multi-Block, Sixteenth-Century Woodcuts from the Studio of Albrecht Dürer," *The Book and Paper Group Annual* 14 (1995), http://cool.conservation-us.org/coolaic/sg/bpg/annual/v14/bp14-07.html; Pon, *Raphael, Dürer, and Marcantonio Raimondi*, 5–6; Silver and Wyckoff, *Grand Scale: Monumental Prints in the Age of Dürer and Titian*. I thank Jun Nakamura for this first reference, and for sharing his observations of the exemplar of the Arch of Maximilian in the collection of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.

140. See below, and also Cobianchi, "The Use of Woodcuts in Fifteenth-Century Italy," and Pon, *Raphael, Dürer, and Marcantonio Raimondi*, 155–65.

141. Schreiber, *Handbuch*, vol. 2, section VI, Maria Die Heilige Jundgrau mit Kind, S. 1127. I thank Andreas Heese of the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett for confirming Schreiber's measurements of 565 mm × 385 mm for this print.

142. Schreiber 1058n, Victoria and Albert Museum 321a-1894. 65 cm × 45.7 cm.

143. Schreiber 1158, British Museum 1895,0122.1187. 536 mm x 412 mm. An online image of this print can be found at: The British Museum, accessed June 10, 2014, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=136911&objectId=1344881&partId=1.

144. The exact placement of the print within the house in Bassano, which was demolished before 1884, is not clear: Friedrich Lippmann describes the print as "set above the framework of the door" (*The Art of Wood-Engraving in Italy in the Fifteenth Century*, [London: Quaritch, 1888], 157–8), whereas Campbell Dodgson suggests it "was detached from the door" (*Woodcuts of the XV Century in the Department of Drawings*, 2 vols. [London: British Museum. 1934], vol. I, 23–4, no. 150). On Mitchell, Stephen Coppel, "William Mitchell (1820–1908) and John Malcolm of Poltalloch (1805–93)" in *Landmarks in Print Collecting*, ed. Antony Griffiths (London: British Museum Press, 1996), 159–88.

145. Arthur Hind, *An Introduction to a History of Woodcut* (1935 London edition; repr., New York: Dover Publications, 1963), I, 162.

146. For instance, Fiora Bellini supports a date "a ritroso verso l'ultimo decennio del Trecento" (Evelina Borea and Fiora Bellini, *Xilografie italiane del Quattrocento da Ravenna e da altri luoghi*, exh. cat.

Rome: Gabinetto Nazionale dei Disegni e delle Stampe, December 1987–February 1988 [Ravenna: Longo Editore, 1987], 31); Luigi Servolini suggests it was printed before 1420 ("Antichi cimeli della xilografia italiana," *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* [1962]:433–8); Erwin Rosenthal, concludes that it is "typical for [a print] that was in existence in 1428" and in fact finds the two large London *Madonna and Child* prints as not later than 1420–30 ("Two Unrecorded Italian Single Woodcuts and the Origin of Wood Engraving [*sic*] in Italy, *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 5 [1963]: 353–70, 359); Hans Körner supports a dating around the middle of the century (*Der früheste deutsch Einblattholzschnitt*, 40).

147. Hind, *Introduction to a History of Woodcut*, 105. Whether the year indicates the date of the print's production or rather that of "some historical event and was unthinkingly adopted by the block cutter" is debated. See, with further bibliography, Parshall and Schoch, *Origins of European Printmaking*, 153–6, cat. no. 35.

148. For a summary of the documentary evidence, see Sergio Fabbri, *La Madonna del Fuoco di Forlì fra storia, arte e devozione* (Cesena: Stiligraf, 2003), 55–62.

149. Ricceputi, *Istoria*, 29: "Sono 257 anni, ch'ella si preservò dall'incendio, e Dio sa quanti ancora n'eran trascorsi, da che era uscita dal torchio."

150. Adamo Pasini, *Storia della Madonna del Fuoco di Forlì* (Forlì: Abbazia di S. Mercuriale, 1936), 51.

151. For a classic formulation of reception theory calling for the identification of the horizon of expectations of a text's earliest readers, see Hans Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, trans. Michael Shaw (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982); for a call for a scholarly re-orientation especially for the study of Renaissance art, Maria Loh, "Renaissance Faciality," *Oxford Art Journal* 32 (2009): 362–4.

152. Bezzi, *FT*, 7: "una Imagine di nostra Sgnora rozzame'te stampata in legno sopra un foglio … Era ancor nuouo allhora quell'arteficio, e chi sà, che non fusse la prima stampa, che uscisse dal suo primo Artefice, come la Vergine fù la prima ad uscire dalle mani del Facitore del tutto?"

153. For a prominent example on cloth, see Teresa Nevins, "Picturing Oedipus in the Sion Textile," 17–37 in Peter Parshall, ed., *The Woodcut in Fifteenth-Century Europe*, *Studies in the History of Art* 75 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009); and Peter Parshall and Rainer Schoch, *Origins of European Printmaking: Fifteenth-Century Woodcuts and Their Public*, exh. cat. (National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, 2005), 62–7.

154. From a statement made during the sanctification proceedings of Saint Catherine of Siena in the so-called "processo Castellano" in 1412 (Marie-Hyacinthe Laurent, *Fontes Vitae S. Catharinae Senesis Historici: Il processo Castellano IX* [Milan: Fratelli Bocca, 1942], 93. See also Henri Saffrey, "Les images populaires de saints dominicains à Venise au XVe siècle et l'edition par Alde Manuce des 'Epistole' de Sainte Catherine de Sienne," *Italia Medievale e Umanistica* XXV (1982): 260–1, 261n51; Pon, *Raphael, Dürer, and Marcantonio Raimondi*, 59–60 (with further bibliography); and Cobianchi, "The Use of Woodcuts in Fifteenth-Century Italy."

155. Antonio Sartori, "Documenti padovani sull'arte della stampa nel sec. xv," in *Libri e stampatori in Padova, Miscellanea di studi storici in onore di Mons. G. Bellini, tipografo editore libraio* (Padua: Tipografia Antoniana, 1959), 116, doc. 1. See also Giancarlo Schizzerotto, *Le incisione quattrocentesche della Classense* (Ravenna: Zaccarini Editore, 1971), 105–7.

156. Cardinal Antoniano and his suggestions for the use of prints in domestic spaces are discussed in Chapter 4.

157. Dionisio Vázqez's 1586 manuscript "Vida del p. Francisco de Borja," Book IV, chapter 2, in the Italian translation published in Pasquale D'Elia, "La prima diffusione nel mondo dell'imagine di Maria 'Salus Populi Romani,'" *Arte e Fede* II (1954): 301–11, 306: "[il padre] spedì da Roma innumerevoli stampe, di forme e di material diverse, alle Indie Orientali e Occidentali, al Giappone, in Germania, in Polonia, in Spagna, e nelle altre provincie."

158. For examples of European prints as models, see Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt, *The Virgin, Saints, and Angels: South American Paintings 1600–1825 from the Thoma Collection*, exh. cat. (Stanford: The Iris & B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University, 2006), especially the essay by Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, "Cultural Transfer and Arts in the Americas, 19–26 and cat. nos. 3, 8, 14, 24, 26. For the Virgin of El Pueblito, Cristina Cruz González, "The Circulation of Flemish Prints in Mexican Missions, and the Creation of a New Visual Narrative, 1630–1800," *Boletín: The Journal of the California Mission Studies Association*, 25 (2008): 5–34.

159. See, with further bibliography, Antonio Rodríguez-Buckingham, "Change and the Printing Press in Sixteenth-Century Spanish America," in *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies After Elizabeth L. Eisenstein*, ed. Sabrina Alcorn Baron, Eric Lindquist, and Eleanor Shevlin (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 216–37.

160. Kristin Noreen, "The Icon of Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome: An Image and its Afterlife," *Renaissance Studies*, 19 (2005): 660–71.

161. On printing and the Reformation, see Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, 303–450. On technology of empire, see Daqing Yang, *Technology of Empire: Telecommunications and Japanese Expansion in Asia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 8–9.

162. On pilgrim badges, see Peter Schmidt, “Materialität, Medialität und Autorität des vervielfältigten Bildes: Siegel und andere Bildmedien des Mittelalters in ihren Wechselwirkungen,” in *Die Bildlichkeit korporativer Siegel im Mittelalter: Kunstgeschichte und Geschichte im Gespräch*, ed. Markus Späth (Cologne: Böhlau, 2009), 91. As Janet Byrne states, “Finding a complete set of unpasted sections [of early printed wallpaper – though her observation can be extended to other types of early prints] today is a triumph for museums and collectors” (*Renaissance Ornament Prints and Drawings* [New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1981], 18). See, with further bibliography, Suzanne Karr Schmidt and Kimberly Nichols, *Altered and Adorned: Using Renaissance Prints in Daily Life*, exh. cat. (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 2011; distributed by New Haven and London: Yale University Press); Jan van der Waals, *Prenten in de gouden eeuw: van kunst tot kastpapier*, exh. cat. (Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, 2006). I thank Mia Mochizuki for the previous reference. See also Lucia Nadin Bassani, *Le carte da gioco a Venezia: l'arte dei cartoleri (1400–1700)* (Venice: Centro internazionale della grafica, 1989); Charles Oman, *Wallpapers: An International History and Illustrated Survey from the Victoria and Albert Museum* (New York: Abrams, 1982).

163. Jan van der Stock, *Printing Images: The Introduction of Printmaking in a City, Fifteenth Century to 1585* (Rotterdam: Sound & Vision Interactive, 1998), 173.

164. Arnold Nesselrath, “The Painters of Lorenzo the Magnificent in the Chapel of Pope Sixtus IV in Rome,” in *The Fifteenth Century Frescoes in the Sistine Chapel: Recent Restorations of the Vatican Museums, Volume IV*, ed. Francesco Branelli and Allen Dunston (Vatican City: Edizioni Musei Vaticani, 2003), 43, figs. 209, 210.

165. The glue stains and punctures in the leaves of a copy of the late-fifteenth-century *Biblia pauperum* now at Oxford University suggest that some blockbook pages may have been displayed on a vertical surface sometime before being bound into a codex. See Nigel Palmer, “Woodcuts for Reading: The Codicology of Fifteenth-Century Blockbooks and Woodcut Cycles,” in *The Woodcut in Fifteenth-Century Europe*, *Studies in the History of Art* 75, ed. Peter Parshall (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), 92–117.

166. Peter Schmidt, “The Early Print and the Origins of the Picture Postcard,” in Parshall, *The Woodcut in Fifteenth-Century Europe*, 240.

167. Peter Schmidt, “Kleben statt malen: Handschriftenillustration in Augustiner-Chorfrauenstift Inzigkofen,” 243–84 in *Studien und Texte zur literarischen und materiellen Kultur der Frauenklöster im Späten Mittelalter*, eds. Falk Eisermann, Evan Schlotheuber and Volker Honemann (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Peter Parshall and Rainer Schoch, *Origins of European Printmaking: Fifteenth-century Woodcuts and Their Public* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, in association with Yale University Press, 2005), 44–5 and 188–93, cat. no. 50.

168. Areford, *The Viewer and the Printed Image*, 104–63; Schizzerotto, *Le incisione quattrocentesche della Classense* (Ravenna: Zaccarini Editore, 1971), 37–75.

169. Schizzerotto, *Le incisione quattrocentesche*, 15–17.

170. Areford, *The Viewer and the Printed Image*, 105–13.

171. These prints were on the order of 75 mm × 55 mm. Ursula Weekes, *Early Engravers and Their Public: The Master of the Berlin Passion and Manuscripts from Convents in the Rhine-Maas Region, c. 1450–1500* (Turnhout: Harvey Miller, 2004), 82–3.

172. Weekes, *Early Engravers and Their Public*, 88–93.

173. Weekes, *Early Engravers and Their Public*, 89. The shop for the Master of the Ten Thousand Martyrs clearly did not use the later standard ropes or racks to support freshly-printed impressions during the days or weeks it takes for the ink to dry fully (Ad Stijnman, *Engraving and Etching, 1400–2000: A History of the Development of Manual Intaglio Printmaking Processes* [Houten, Netherlands: Hes & De Graaf, 2012], 324–5).

174. Ravenna, Biblioteca Classense, inv. no. 45 from manuscript Porto 1161 bis from the ASRavenna. Evelina Borea and Fiora Bellini, *Xilografie italiane del Quattrocento da Ravenna e da altri luoghi*, exh. cat. Rome: Gabinetto Nazionale dei Disegni e delle Stampe, December 1987–February 1988 (Ravenna: Longo Editore, ca. 1988), 38–9, cat. no. 1.

175. Schreiber 470k. Richard Field, “A Fifteenth-Century Picture Panel from the Dominican Monastery of Saint Catherine in Nuremberg, 204–37 in Parshall, *The Woodcut in Fifteenth-Century Europe*, 222, 235n45, fig. 30.

176. Francesca Herndon-Consagra and Paul Crenshaw, *Rembrandt: Master Etchings from St. Louis Collections*, exh. cat. St. Louis Art Museum, 2006–7, 28–35. Impressions of the print sold for a price of 100 guilders “various times” by February 9, 1654. See Emile van den Bussche, “Un éveque bibliophile. Notes sur la bibliothèque et le cabinet de gravures de Charles Vanden Bosch, neuvième évéque de Bruges,” *La Flandre: Revue des monuments d'histoire et d'antiquities* 13 (1880): 358–89]; Martin Royalton-Kisch, “Christ healing the sick,” in *Rembrandt the Printmaker*, ed. Erik Hinterding, Ger Luijten and Martin Royalton-Kisch, exh. cat.: Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 2000–2001 and London: British Museum 2001 (Chicago: Fitrzroy Dearborn Publication, 2000), 255.

177. Matthew 19:13–14.

178. 2006 label text for "Rembrandt: a 400th anniversary display" at the British Museum.

179. *Catalogue raisonné de toutes les estampes qui forment l'oeuvre de Rembrandt et ceux de ses principaux imitateur* (Vienna: A. Blumauer, 1797). Bartsch's catalogue, which precedes the *Peintre-Graveur* series (21 vols., Vienna: J. V. Degen, 1803–2), is a "Nouv. éd., entièrement refondue, corr. et considérablement augm." of Gersaint's 1751 catalogue (organized by subject). See also Christopher White, "Rembrandt as an Etcher," in Albert Blankert, et al., *Rembrandt: A Genius and His Impact* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1997), 382ff.

180. Pon, "Further Musings on Raphael's *Parnassus*," 191–207 in *Imitation, Representation and Printing in the Italian Renaissance*, ed. Magne Malmanger and Roy Eriksen (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 2009); Pon, "Paint/Print/Public," in *Making Things Public: Atmospheres of Democracy*, ed. Peter Weibel and Bruno Latour (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005), 686–93; Pon, *Raphael, Dürer, and Marcantonio Raimondi*.

181. Bernice Davidson, "Marcantonio Raimondi: The Engravings of his Roman Period" (PhD diss., Radcliffe College, Harvard University, 1954), 2. My view accords with Norberto Gramaccini's, that "eine uniforme und auf Exaktheit beruhende Reproduktion" arose only in the late nineteenth century, as a by-product of the new technology of photography (*Die Kunst der Interpretation: französische Reproduktionsgraphik von 1648 bis 1792* [Munich: Deutscher Verlag, 2003], 11.)

182. Peter Molloy, "Foreword," in *A description of fire engines with water hoses and the method of fighting fires now used in Amsterdam*, ed. Jan van der Heyden, trans. Letti Stibbe Multhauf (Canton, MA: Science History Publications/USA, 1996), xiii–xiv. In 1685, the van der Heyden family (Jan and brother Nicholaus – the latter died in 1683 and was replaced by Jan's son, Jan Jr.) had been given complete authority of all fire department operations; this necessitated the printing of new regulations. On Jan van der Heyden, see also David R. Smith, "Jan van der Heyden's urban prose," *Word & Image*, 26 (2010): 83–99 and Peter Sutton, *Jan van der Heyden (1637–1712)* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006).

183. Ivins, *Prints and Visual Communication* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1953).

184. Jane Newman, "The Word Made Print: Luther's 1522 *New Testament* in an Age of Mechanical Reproduction," *Representations* 11 (1985): 95–133.

185. *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, plate XV. I thank Joseph Loewenstein for this example.

186. Elizabeth Eisenstein, "Printing as Divine Art: Celebrating Western Technology in the Age of the Hand Press," *The Harold Jantz Memorial Lecture* (Oberlin: Oberlin College, 1996), esp. 2–4. See also Brian Richardson, "The Debates on Printing in Renaissance Italy," *La bibliofilia* 100 (1998): 135–55.

187. Thomaso Garzoni, *La piazza universale* (Venice, 1599), 833: "Si puo dir che la Stampa sia stata quella che ha risvegliato i spiriti dell'huomo ch'erano addormentati veramente nel sonno del-l'ignoranza: perche avanti a questa miracolosa arte della stampa ... Arte veramente rara, stupenda et miracolosa."

188. See Susan Dackerman, ed., *Prints and the Pursuit of Knowledge in Early Modern Europe*, exh. cat. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Art Museums and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011).

189. Walter Melion, "*Sese oblectari in dies:* The Meditative Function of the Wierix Prints Pasted in the Prayerbook of Martinus Boschman," paper given at the College Art Association Conference, New York, February 2013.

190. Ricceputi, *Istoria*, 75: "col più vivo del cuor stampate il vostro nome sopra di quello," and 111: "col solo impronto della vostra effigie salvate in mezo alle Fiamme questa Carta miracolosa."

191. See, for example, Jeffrey Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), 178.

192. Aristotle, *On Memory and Recollection:* "just as when persons do who make an impression with a seal," as cited in Katharine Park, "Impressed Images: Reproducing Wonders," in *Picturing Science, Producing Art*, ed. Caroline Jones and Peter Galison (New York: Routledge, 1998), 254–271; Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (1990; repr., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 24–7; Elina Gertsman, "Multiple Imrpessions: Christ in the Winepress and the Semiotics of the Printed Image," *Art History* 36 (2013): 310–37, 328–30.

193. Theodore the Studite, *On the Holy Icons* (New York: Saint Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1981), 112–3. On the evolution of the seal to become a marker of personal or civic identity in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, "*Ego, Ordo, Communitas.* Seals and the Medieval Semiotics of Personality (1200–1350)," 47–64 in *Die Bildlichkeit korporativer Siegel im Mittelalter: Kunstgeschichte und Geschichte im Gespräch*, ed. Markus Späth (Köln: Böhlau, 2009).

194. Herbert Kessler, "Configuring the Invisible by Copying the Holy Face," in *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation*, ed. Herbert Kessler and Gerhard Wolf (Bologna: Nuova Alfa, 1998), 134.

195. Park, "Impressed Images," 265–6.

196. Norman Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. II: Trent – Vatican II (London: Sheed & Ward, 1990), 684–5, translated in Lee Palmer Wandel, *The Eucharist in the Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 215.

197. Luther brushed aside the question of bread versus wafer as unimportant; after 1576, only hosts made in monasteries could be used for the Catholic mass. See, for the former, Wandel, *The Eucharist in the Reformation*, 256; for the latter, Jules Corblet, *Histoire domatique, liturgique, et archeólogique de l'Eucharistie* (Paris: Société Générale de Librairie Catholique, 1885–6), vol. 1, 178.

198. See Aden Kumler, "The Multiplication of the Species: Eucharistic morphology in the Middle Ages," *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, 59/60 (2011): 184–7. I thank her for allowing me to see a draft of this essay before its publication.

199. See Walter Hildburgh's still definitive works, "Germanic Wafering-Irons of the Sixteenth Century," *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, ser. 2, 26 (1914): 141–9 and "Italian Wafering-Irons of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, ser. 2, 27(1915):1612–01; see also Martí Sunyol i Busquets, "Estudi d'un hostier medieval del 1339," *Acta historica et archaeolgocial mediaevalia* 9 (1988): 475–93; Musacchio, *Art, Marriage, and Family*, 32–4; Karr Schmidt and Nichols, *Altered and Adorned*, 68–71 and 109. For a secular wafering iron, see Andrea Bayer, *Art and Love in Renaissance Italy*, exh. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), catalogue entry 46, 116–7. The largest collection of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italian *ferro da cialda* is in the Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia. I thank Barnaby Nygren for alerting me to the first, and Janna Israel to the second.

200. Corblet, *Historie de l'Eucharistie*, vol. 1, 188–9.

201. Corblet, includes in his list of inscriptions that he observed frequently, "Foderuent manus meas et pedes meos. Dinumeraverunt omnia ossa mea" (*Historie de l'Eucharistie*, vol. 1, 191). Some of the secular wafering tongs in Perugia include even longer inscriptions.

202. Felix Fabri, *The Book of the Wanderings of Brother Felix Fabri, trans. Aubrey Stewart* (London: The Library of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 1896), vol. I, 93, as given at openlibrary.org, last accessed October 12, 2014, http://archive.org/stream/libraryofpalesti07paleuoft#page/92/mode/2up.

203. Gregory of Tours, *De gloria martyrum* 27 and Gregory the Great, *Epistulae* 4:30 as cited in David Eastman, *Paul the Martyr: The Cult of the Apostle in the Latin West* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 7, 601 and Jonathan Sumption, *The Age of Pilgrimage: The Medieval Journey to God* (Mahwah, NJ: Hidden Spring, 2003), 24. See also G. J. C. Snoek, *Medieval Piety from Relics to the Eucharist: A Process of Mutual Interaction* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 13–14 and Freedberg, *The Power of Images*, 128–9.

204. Kenneth Woodward, *Making Saints: How the Catholic Church Determines Who Becomes a Saint, Who Doesn't, and Why* (New York: Touchstone, 1996), 59.

205. The literature on the Holy Face is vast: see, with further references, Herbert Kessler and Gerhard Wolf, ed., *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation: Papers from a Colloquium Held at the Biblioteca Hertziana, Rome and the Villa Spelman, Florence, 1996* (Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1998) and Christoph Frommel and Gerhard Wolf, *L'immagine di Cristo dall'acheropita alla mano d'artista dal tardo medioevo all'età barocca* (Città del Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2006). On the Shroud of Turin, see John Beldon Scott, *Architecture for the Shroud: Relic and Ritual in Turin* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000); John Beldon Scott, "Seeing the Shroud: Guarini's Reliquary Chapel in Turin and the Ostension of a Dynastic Relic," *Art Bulletin*, 77 (1995): 609–37; and Andrew Casper, "Display and Devotion: Exhibiting Icons and Their Copies in Counter-Reformation Italy," in Wietse de Boer and Christine Goettler, eds., *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 43–62.

206. Wood, *Forgery, Replica, Fiction*, 40; Wolf, *Schleier und Spiegel: Traditionen des Christusbildes und die Bildkonzepte der Renaissance* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2002), "praedestiniert," esp. pp. 314ff; Charles Talbot, "Prints and the Definitive Image," 189–205 in *Print Culture in the Renaissance*, ed. G. Tyson and S. Wagenheim (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 1986), 201: "Though one might go too far by suggesting that the Veil of Veronica is the prototype of all printed devotional images the analogy between the Sudarium and the nature of prints was not overlooked by those artists who made woodcuts and engravings of the pained face of Christ as if it were beheld upon the veil."

207. Irving Lavin, "Il Volto Santo di Claude Mellan," 449–91 in Frommel and Wolf, *L'immagine di Cristo dall'acheropita alla mano d'artista*, 455.

208. Herbert Kessler, "Configuring the Invisible by Copying the Holy Face," in Kessler and Wolf, *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation*, 156.

209. Gerhard Wolf, *Schleier und Spiegel*, 314: "das Licht die Rückseite des Tuches in einer umgeschlagenen Ecke."

210. Koerner, *Moment of Self-Portraiture*, 222–3.

211. Wolfgang Harms and Michael Schilling, eds., *Das illustrierte Flugblatt in der Kultur der frühen Neuzeit: Wolfenbütteler Arbeitsgespraäch 1997* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1998), esp. Falk Eisermann, "Medienwechsel – Medienwandel. Geistliche Texte auf Einblattdrucken und anderen Überlieferungsträgern des 15. Jahrhunderts," 35–58. See also *Origins*, cat. no. 71, 241–2.

212. On the process of substitution, see Nagel and Wood, "Interventions," 403–15 and Nagel and

Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 7–28. Prints depicting other figures also could effect cures. In 1663, a boy drowned in a well near Genoa also recovered, after having an engraving of Saint Francis Xavier held close to his face (Jane Garnett and Gervase Rosser, "Translations of the Miraculous Cult Images and Their Representations in Early Modern Liguria," 205–222 in Thunø and Wolf, *The Miraculous Image*, 209).

213. Karr, Schmidt, and Nichols, *Altered and Adorned*, 68–71.

214. Robert Maniura, "Persuading the Absent Saint: Image and Performance in Marian Devotion." *Critical Inquiry* 35 (2009): 636–8; Robert Maniura, "The Images and Miracles of Santa Maria delle Carceri," 81–95 in *The Miraculous Image*, ed. Thunø and Wolf, 86–7. See also Areford, *The Viewer and the Printed Image*.

215. Ricceputi, *Istoria*, 77: "rare sono le persone, che non se porton adosso un'Immaginetta o di tela o di seta c'habbia toccata l'originale."

216. There have been only occasional commentators on these aspects of printing: see Charles Talbot, "Prints and the Definitive Image," 199–201; William MacGregor, "The Authority of Prints: An Early Modern Perspective," *Art History* 22 (1999): 389–420; and Gertmsan, "Multiple Impressions."

217. Matthew 14:15–21.

218. Walter Benjamin, *The Work of Art int he Age of its Technological Reproducibility, and Other Writings on Media*, ed. Michael William Jennings and Brigid Doherty (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008).

219. John Calvin, *Treatise on Relics*, trans. Valerian Krasinski (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2008), 67–8.

220. Giovanni Felice Astolfi, *Historia universale delle imagine miracolose della Gran Madre di Dio* (Venice: Sessa, 1623), fol. b3 verso and b 4 recto [unpaginated]: "Se i seguaci di Lutero, et di Calvino, dell'infinito de'Miracoli operati da Dio in gratia di N. Signora, et de' Santi, potessero haverne, o cavarne un solo, per potere con esso fiancheggiare le maladette opinioni loro, pretenderebbono solennissimo trionfo. Et che noi, che gl'habbiamo, si come gl'habbimao, et non uno, ma molti, non gli concessimo, et riconoscessimo, quanto portano le nostre forze, che colpa sarebbe la nostra? Chi sarà quello, di gratia, che veduti Miracoli si frequenti, si certi, et indubitanti, cosi chiari, et evidenti, cosi illustri, et eminenti, non sia per dire; questi sono favori, che fa Dio benedetto alla Chiesa?"

221. In a letter dated July 19, 1567 to Francisco Gentili of Padua (Iain Buchanan, "Dürer and Abraham Ortelius," *Burlington Magazine* 124 [1982]: 735).

222. A matrix could also be repaired, refreshed to intensify worn lines, or reworked to modify the image. See Evelyn Lincoln, *The Invention of the Italian Renaissance Printmaker* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 8–10.

223. Talbot, "Prints and the Definitive Image," 200; Gaudio, *Engraving the Savage*, 97–126.

224. Nagel, *Controversy*, 109–10.

225. Blood from scrapes might also lead to what we can call relief printing, though blood from deep punctures caused by the crown of thorns or nails would have to be characterized as *intaglio*.

226. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1941.41.47. See *Origins*, cat. no. 70, 238–40.

227. James Moran, *Printing Presses: History and Development from the Fifteenth Century to Modern Times* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 19–31. See also (with further bibliography) Gertsman, "Multiple Impressions," 310–37.

228. Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nürnberg inv. no. H4, published in Parshall and Schoch, *Origins of European Printmaking*, cat. no. 76. On Christ in the mystic winepress, see Heidrum Stein-Kecks, "'*Gratiam Habere Desideras*': Die 'Mystische Kelter' im Kapitelsaal der Zisterzienserinnen von Sonnefeld," in *Frömmigkeit, Theologie, Frömmigkeitstheologie: Contributions to European Church History: Festschrift für Berndt Hamm zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Gudrun Litz, Heidrun Munzert, and Roland Liebenberg (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 253–68; M. J. Binder, "Das Ansbacher Kelterbild," *Blätter für Gemäldekunde* 3 (1906): 61–4. See also Engelbert Kirschbaum et al., eds. *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* (Rome: Herder, 1970), vol. 2, 497–504. The motif was most common in Northern Europe but also appeared in Italy, for example, in the late fifteenth-century fresco attributed to Bergognone in Santa Maria Incoronata, Milan.

229. The relief is the predella of the altar for the coopers' guild commissioned from Willemssens and Artus Quellinus the Young. Work began just after March 9, 1677; the first stone was laid on April 16, 1678, and the altar was completed May 28, 1678. See, with references to the surviving documents for the commission, Stefaan Grieten and Joke Bungeneers, *De Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekathedraal van Antwerpen: Kunstpatrimonium van het Ancien Régime* (Antwerp: Brepols, 1996), 18–9; see also W. Aerts, *The Cathedral of Our Lady in Antwerp* (Antwerp: Fonds Mercator, 1993), 237–9 and 399n99. On Willemssens and Quellinus, see Jan Broeckx, "Ludovicus Willemssens, 1630–1702: Antwerpsch beeldhouwer," *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis en de oudheidkunde*, vii (Ghent: De Sectie Kunstgeschiedenis en Oudheidkunde van de Rijksuniversiteit te Gent met de Steun van het Universiteitsvermogen, 1941), 137–71; J. Leeuwenberg and W. Halsema-Kubes, *Beeldhouwkunst in het Rijksmuseum – catalogus*, Amsterdam, 1973, 251–3, nos. 338a–c; *La Sculpture au Siècle de*

Rubens dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux et la principauté de Liège, exh. cat. (Brussels: Musée d'Art Ancien, 1977), 286–94. I thank Mia Mochizuki and Antien Knaap for discussing this relief with me.

230. Gisèle Lambert, "Etude iconographiqe du theme du pressoir mystique a travers al gravure du XVe au XXe siècle," 107–28 in Daniele Alexandre-Bidon, ed., *Le pressoir mystique: Actes du colloque de Recloses (27 mai 1989)* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1990), 110–1.

231. Georges Didi-Huberman, "The Index of the Absent Wound (Monograph on a Stain)," *October* 29 (1084): 63–81.

232. Beldon Scott, *Architecture for the Shroud*; John Beldon Scott, "Seeing the Shroud: Guarini's Reliquary Chapel in Turin and the Ostension of a Dynastic Relic," *Art Bulletin* 77(1995): 609–37, esp. 626–33.

233. See Beldon Scott, figs. 24–26 and Casper, "Display and Devotion," figs. 4–5.

234. Didi-Huberman, "The Index of the Absent Wound," 72.

235. Johannes Arnoldus, *De Chalcographiae Inventione Poema Encomiasticum*, 1541. I have used the facsimile provided in Otto Clemen, *Des Johann Arnold aus Marktbergel Encomion chalcographiae Mainz 1540* (Mainz: Verlag der Guttenberg-Gesellschaft, 1940). Arnoldus's poem is in Latin, but in the margin of his text on the verso of leaf B1, he adds, "Vulgo matrices nominantur." For other instances from the seventeenth century and after, see the Oxford English Dictionary, *s.v.* matrix.

236. Fritz Scholten, "Bronze: The Mythology of a Metal," in *Bronze: The Power of Life and Death*, ed. Martina Droth, Fritz Scholten, and Michael Cole (Leeds: Henry Moore Institute, 2005), 26.

237. Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, trans., *Paracelsus: Essential Readings* (Berkeley, CA: North Atlantic Books, 1999), 93. The original German text, in which Paracelsus uses the Latin *matrix* (pl. *matrices*), is given in Amy Eisen Cislo, "Imagining procreation: Conception and gestation in the works of Paracelsus (1493–1541)," (PhD diss., Washington University, 2003), 111. See also Kathleen Crowther-Heyck, "'Be fruitful and multiply': Genesis and Generation in Reformation Germany," *Renaissance Quarterly* 55 (2002): 921 and Charles Webster, *Paracelsus: Medicine, Magic and Mission at the End of Time* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008).

238. Paracelsus, "Von Hinfallenden Siechtagen der Mutter" [1530], 327 as cited in Cislo, "Imagining procreation," 150–1: "Das kind in matrice lebt im firmament matricis, das außerhalb in dem eußern firmament. Also ist matrix mundus minor und hat in ir all art der himel und erden." On maternal connotations of the term in classical and post-classical usages, see Irina Aristarkhova, *Hospitality of the Matrix: Philosophy, Biomedicine, and Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 11–17.

239. Tertullian, *Apologeticus adversus gentes pro christianis*, cap. XXI, consulted via Proquest Information and Learning Company, *Patrologia Latina Database*, accessed July 5, 2011, http://pld.chadwyck.com. The English translation given here are by S. Thelwall from *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. 3. Edited by Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and A. Cleveland Coxe. (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1885.) Revised and edited for New Advent by Kevin Knight, accessed July 5, 2011, http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/0301.htm.

240. Dizionario Etimologico Pianigiani Online, s. v. *matrice*, accessed July 5, 2011, http://www.etimo.it/?pag=hom: "Chiesa Matrice: la Cattedrale [come se dicesse quella che dà forma ed esempio alle altre]." Charles Du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae Latinitatis* (Frankfurt: Officina Zunneriana, 1710), s.v. *ecclesia*, DFG-Projekt CAMENA, Heidelberg-Mannheim, accessed July 5, 2011, http://www.uni-mannheim.de/mateo/camenaref/ducange/bd2/jpg/s0237.html.

241. For men, see Rosemary Hale, "*Imitatio Mariae*: Motherhood Motifs in Devotional Memoirs," *Mystics Quarterly* 16 (1990): 193–203; for women, see Joelle Mellon, *The Virgin Mary in the Perceptions of Women: Mother, Protector and Queen Since the Middle Ages* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2008), 43–4; Martina Wehrli-Johns, "Haushaelterin Gottes: Zur Mariennachfolge der Beginen," 147–67 in *Maria, Abbild oder Vorbild? Zur Sozialgeschichte mittelalterlicher Marienverehrung*, ed. Hedwig Rockelein, Claudia Opitz, and Dieter R. Bauer (Tuebingen: Diskord, 1990); Gail McMurray Gibson, *The Theater of Devotion: East Anglican Drama and Society in the Late Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 47–6; and Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *The Rothschild Canticles: Art and Mysticism in Flanders and the Rhineland Circa 1300* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990), 89, all with further bibliography. On the gender biases of describing Mary or Christ as the model for holy men and women, see Catherine Mooney, "Imitatio Christi or Imitatio Mariae? Clare of Assisi and her Interpreters," in *Gendered Voices: Medieval Saints and Their Interpreters*, Catherine Mooney, ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 52–77.

242. Francois de Sales, *Oeuvres completes de St Francois de Sales, évéque et prince de Genève*, vol. 11 (Paris: J. J. Blaise, 1821), 378, as cited in Donna Spivey Ellington, *From Sacred Body to Angelic Soul: Understanding Mary in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2001), 143.

243. See Robert Maniura, "Image and Relic in the Cult of Our Lady of Prato," *Images, Relics, and*

Devotional Practices in Medieval and Renaissance Italy, ed. Sally Cornelison and Scott Montgomery (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2006), 209 and Spivey Ellington, *From Sacred Body to Angelic Soul*, 124–25.

244. Richard Trexler, "Florentine Religious Experience: The Sacred Image," *Studies in the Renaissance* 19 (1972): 7–41, 18, 24.

245. Maniura, "Persuading the Absent Saint," 650–4.

246. Maniura, "Image and Relic in the Cult of Our Lady of Prato," 209.

247. Garnett and Rosser, "Translations of the Miraculous," 216. Their concept of a "cultic zone" has resonances with Hugo van der Velden's idea of a votive complex to denote not only a votive gift but also its concomitant pilgrimage, the presentation of concomitant offerings, and perhaps even land or a building. See *The Donor's Image: Gerard Loyet and the Votive Portraits of Charles the Bold* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 212.

248. Maniura, "Persuading the Absent Saint," 639–54.

249. Christine Vogt, *Das druckgraphische Bild nach Vorlagen Albrech Dürers (1471–1528): Zur phänomen der graphischen Kopie (Reproduktion) zu Lebzeiten Dürers nördlich der Alpen* (Munich and Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2008), 107: "Das 16. Jahrhundert scheint im Allgemeinen eine andere und weniger dogmatische Form zu haben, die Seitenausrichtung zu behandeln."

250. Joris van Grieken gave a talk about the silver and gold plates of Lambert Suavius at the 2010 Historians of Netherlandish Art conference. I thank Nadine Orenstein for bringing his talk to my attention.

251. *Lambert Lombard et son temps*, exh. cat. (Liège: Musée de l'art wallon, 1966), xlii–xliv. I have not been able to consult Jean Simon Renier, *Catalogue de l'oeuvre de L. Suavius, graveur liègois* (Liège: Imprimerie H. Vaillant-Carmanne, 1878).

252. Walter Gibson, *Pieter Bruegel and the Art of Laughter*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 80–3.

253. Alphonsus Paleotti, *Historia admiranda de Iesu Chrsiti stigmatibus* . . . (Douai: Balthazar Belleri, 1607), 365: "Pro lateris vulnere . . . est observandum, quod dum ad sinistram partem nobis offertur, vere colligimus, Christum in dexteram lateris partem inflictum vulnus accepisse, quod quidem inde provenit, quod eiusmodi exemplar in anteriore vultus prospectu impressum exstiterit."

254. Lazzaro Giuseppe Piano, *Comentarii critico-archeologici sopra la SS. Sindone di N. S. Gesù Cristo venerata in Torino* (Turin: Per gli eredi Bianci e comp., 1833), 160–1: "come succede in una immagine tramandata da uno specchio, ovvero in una effigie impressa da un rame sopra la carta, ovvero da un sigillo sopra la cera."

255. Caspar, "Display and Devotion," 58–9. On printed depictions of the disembodied but measured side wound of Christ, see Areford, *The Viewer and the Printed Image*, esp. 244–6. For an example of a print that shows the lance wound on the right side of the Shroud, see Vittorio Amedeo Barralis, *Sacred Anatomy of the Image of Our Lord Christ Imprinted on the Holy Shroud*, engraving, 1685 in Beldon Scott, *Architecture for the Shroud*, fig. 126,. I thank Richard Field and John Beldon Scott for discussing the issue of the sidedness of the lance wound on the Shroud with me.

256. Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy*, 109.

257. Robert Maniura, "Ex Votos, Art and Pious Performance," *Oxford Art Journal* 32 (2009): 423: Giuliano Guizzelmi believed himself protected from a mule's kick "by the most glorious Virgin Mary of the Carceri of Prato whose lead image, which had touched her glorious figure, I had on." Also see Ricceputi, *Istoria*, 77.

258. Horst Appuhn, "*Maria mater misericordiae*: Ein kleines Andachtsbild der Maria lactans aus der Wekstatt des Conrad von Soest," vol. 1, 215–26 in *Die Gottesmutter: Marienbild in Rheinland und in Westfalen*, ed. Leonhard Küppers (Recklinghausen: Aurel Bongers, 1974).

259. David Areford, "Multiplying the Sacred: The Fifteenth-Century Woodcut as Reproduction, Surrogate, Simulation," 118–53 in *The Woodcut in Fifteenth-Century Europe*, *Studies in the History of Art* 75, ed. Peter Parshall (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), 126.

260. Wood, *Forgery*, *Replica*, *Fiction*, 40: "When a sign is indexical to something, as an engraving is indexical to a copperplate, the human recipient of the sign will tend to transfer the indexical relationship, not necessarily legitimately, to some preferable object, a point of origin more interesting than the mere copperplate." Wood also explored this concept in "The Materiality of the Earliest Archeological Publications," a paper given at "Printing Matters: The Materiality of Print in Early Modern France and Italy," Harvard University, Nov. 1998 and "Notation of Visual Information in the Earliest Archeological Scholarship," *Word & Image* 17 (2001): 94–118. See also Gertsman, "Multiple Impressions," 326–7.

261. David Areford, "Multiplying the Sacred: The Fifteenth-Century Woodcut as Reproduction, Surrogate, Simulation," in Parshall, *The Woodcut in Fifteenth-Century Europe*, 141.

262. Jeffrey Hamburger, "'In gebeden vnd in bilden geschriben': Prints as Exemplars of Piety and the Culture of the Copy in Fifteenth-Century Germany,"

in Parshall, *The Woodcut in Fifteenth-Century Europe*, 156.

263. Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak, "In Search of a Semiotic Paradigm: The Matter of Sealing in Medieval Thought and Praxis (1050–1400), 1–7 in Noël Adams, John Cherry, and James Robinson, eds., *Good Impressions: Image and Authority in Medieval Seals* (London: The British Museum Press, 2008), 5.

264. "tantum sit carta beata Virgo Maria, notarius sit Christus et angeli sint testes" (Archivio di Stato, Perugia, Corporazioni religiose soppresse, S. Francesco al Prato, perg. n. 58, rr. 10–12, as transcribed in Ruth Wolff, "The Sealed Saint: Representations of Saint Francis of Assisi on Medieval Italian Seals," in *Good Impressions*, ed. Adams et al., 97n9.

265. *Oeuvres completes de St Francois de Sales, évéque et prince de Genève*, 11:270, as quoted in Ellington, *From Sacred Body to Angelic Soul*, 238–98.

266. Bezzi, *FT*, 7. See chapter epigraphs and their discussion above.

267. Sandström, *Levels of Unreality*.

268. Anthony Cutler, "La 'questione bizantina' nella pittura italiana: una visione alternativa della 'maniera greca,'" in *La Pittura in Italia: L'Alto Medievo*, ed. Carlo Bertelli (Milan: Electa, 1994) 336 and Victor Lasareff, "Studies in the Iconography of the Virgin, *Art Bulletin* 20 (1938): 26–65, 64n197. See also the Dexiokratousa icons catalogued in Robert Nelson and Kristen Collins, *Holy Image, Hallowed Ground: Icons from Sinai*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2006), cat. nos. 8–9, 140–145. I thank Annemarie Weyl Carr for suggesting Agnolo Gaddi and for sharing her sense that Marian icons with a pointing right hand dominate, if not completely. For example, in the Byzantine *templon* that divided a church nave, Mary's gesture could indicate the icon of Christ on the other side of the Holy Doors as well as Jesus held in her left arm.

269. Andrea Muzzi, Bruna Tomasello, Attilio Tori, ed., *Sigilli nel Museo Nazionale del Bargello*, vol. 1: Ecclesiastici (Florence: Associazione Amici del Bargello, 1988), 172, cat. no. 438, 41 mm × 40 mm, Bargello Inv. 1589.

270. Baxandall, *Painting and Experience*.

271. Maniura, "Persuading the Absent Saint," 647.

272. Maniura, "Persuading the Absent Saint," 639.

CHAPTER THREE: MIRACLE: THE FIRE OF FEBRUARY 4, 1428

273. Giovanni di M. Pedrino, *Cronica de suo tempo*, Gino Borghezio and Marco Vattasso, ed. (Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1929), 167–8: "non ne romaxe altro che le mura e una carta con alcuna figura e nostra Donna in mezzo. E perché parve grande miracolo fo tolta dai calonixe de Santa Croxe con reve(re)nçia: e questa fa assa(e) miraculi." Giovanni di Mastro Pedrino was born around 1390–5 (in his chronicle, he says that he saw Halley's comet in 1400 as a child), began his chronicle in 1410, was still actively painting in 1458, and had died by 1465. On chroniclers in Forlì, see Giuliano Missirini, "La Cronaca," in *Melozzo da Forlì: La sua città e il suo tempo*, ed. Marina Foschi and Luciana Prati (Milan: Leonardo Arte 1995), 251–6. Eric Cochrane suggests that Giovanni di Pedrino is a more accurate chronicler than his contemporary Leone Cobelli (*Historians and historiography in the Italian Renaissance*, [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981], 97).

274. See Giordano Viroli, *Pittura dal duecento al quattrocento a Forlì* (n. p.: 1998), 34–5, no. 33 for the attribution to Giovanni di Mastro Pedrino. Previously the painting had been attributed to an "ipotetico artista Forlivese Firmino Lattanzio" based on a mistaken hypothesis posited by Bartolomeo Ricceputi in 1686.

275. E FO NEL 1428 ADI' 4 DE FEBRARO QUI SE DEMOSTRA COMO PER VIRTÙ DE NOSTRA DONNA, BRUXANDO QUESTA CASA, NON GLE ROMASE ALTRO CHE LA SUA FI[GU]RA IN UNA CARTA IMBROCADA IN UN ASSE E LA QUALE E' IN QUESTA CAPELLA E FA MULTI MIRACHULI.

276. Viroli, *Pittura dal duecento al quattrocento*, 34–5; Tommaso Nediani, "La lunette della Madonna del Fuoco," *La Piè* (1927): 8–9.

277. Manuel A. Vásquez, *More than Belief: A Materialist Theory of Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), esp. 261–90. On place and space generally, Casey, *Getting Back into Place;* Tuan, *Space and Place*; Edward Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (New York: Verso, 1989); Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995, orig. French ed. 1974).

278. As Gaston Bachelard noted, "Through fire everything changes" (*Psychoanalysis of Fire*, trans. Alan Ross [Boston: Beacon Press, 1971], 57).

279. Michele Bacci, *Lo spazio dell'anima: Vita di una chiesa medievale* (Rome: Editori Laterza, 2005), 5–6.

280. The painting was damaged during the bell tower's collapse during bombing on November 8–9, 1944; the panel was restored in 1985. Antonio Calandrini and Gian Michele Fusconi, *Forlì e i suoi vescovi*, (Forlì: Centro studi e ricerche sulla antica provincia ecclesiastica ravennate, 1993), vol. 2, 140n12.

281. Classical and Renaissance authors who deemed nocturnal fire scenes the painter's ultimate challenge include Philostratus; Pliny, *Natural History*, 35:96; Castiglione, *Il Libro del cortigiano*, translated in Robert Klein and Henri Zerner, *Italian Art*

1500–1600: Sources and Documents (Englewood, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1966), 16–22; Erasmus, "De recta Latine Graecique sermonis pronuntiatione," quoted in Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer*, Princeton, 1948, I, 44; and Cristoforo Sorte, "Osservazioni nella pittura di M. Cristoforo Sorte al Magnifico et Eccellentissimo Dottore e Cavaliere il Signor Bartolomeo Vitali," in *Trattati d'arte del Cinquecento fra manierismo e controriforma*, ed. Paola Barocchi, vol. I (Bari: Laterza & Figli, 1960), 277–301. See also Viktor Stoichita, "Peindre le feu? La ville en flames dans la peinture des des XVIe et XVIIe siècles," *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Arachaeologie und Kunstgeschichte* 52 (1995): 35–7.

282. Jan van der Heyden, *A description of fire engines with water hoses and the method of fighting fires now used in Amsterdam*, trans. Letti Stibbe Multhauf (Canton, MA: Science History Publications/USA, 1996), 13. See also Susan Donahue Kuretsky, "Jan van der Heyden and the Origins of Modern Firefighting: Art and Technology in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam," in *Flammable Cities: Urban Conflagration and the Making of the Modern World*, ed. Greg Bankoff, Uwe Lübken, and Jordan Sand (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2012), 23–43. The use of water to extinguish fires was prevalent until the late eighteenth century when new strategies based on smothering a fire were developed. See David Young, *Observations upon Fire* (Edinburgh: n.p., 1784). I thank Marjorie Cohn for facilitating my access to a copy of this book.

283. Van der Heyden-Multhauf, *Fire Engines*, 15–16, 25.

284. These stipulations are given both in the fourteenth-century statues and the seventeenth-century ones that replaced them. Evelina Rinaldi, ed., *Statuto di Forlì dell'anno MCCCLIX con le modificazioi del MCCCLXXIII*, Rome 1913, 276–7, 175: "ad quod incendium extinguendum teneantur omnis baiuli [bearers], sive geruli [porters] cum suis dolijs sui brentis, ac fabri murarij & lignarij cum suis armis necessarijs currere statim, & gratis, tam de die quam de nocte."

285. Duccio Balestracci, "La lotta contra il fuoco (xii–xvi secolo)," in Centro Italiano di Studi di Storia e d'Arte (Pistoia), *Città e servizi sociali nell'Italia dei secoli xii–xv* (Pistoia:, Presso la sede del Centro, 1990), 432.

286. Maria Pia Contessa, *L'ufficio del fuoco nella Firenze del Trecento* (Florence: Le Lettere, 2000), 58n105.

287. Balestracci, "Lotta contra il fuoco," 430–1, 433.

288. The pumps that had been used to spray water on fires in antiquity were practically unknown through the late sixteenth century. Jacques Besson's book, *Theâtre des instruments*, illustrated a hand-cranked pump around 1569; actual pumps began to be used in Europe and America through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. On the pumps described by Hero of Alexandria, Vitruvius, and Pliny, see Stefania Mengozzi Barbara Capponi, *I vigiles dei Cesari: l'organizzazione antincendio nell'antica Roma* (Roma: Pieraldo, 1993), 120–5.

289. John Loughman, "Between Reality and Artful Fiction: The Representation of the Domestic Interior in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art," in *Imagined Interiors: Representing the Domestic Interior Since the Renaissance*, ed. Jeremy Aynsley and Charlotte Grant (London: V&A Publications, 2001), 81–2.

290. Evelina Rinaldi, ed., *Statuto di Forlì dell'anno MCCCLIX con le modificazioni del MCCCLXXIII* (Rome: Loescher, 1913), 276–7, no. 97.

291. The family living in the burning house, the owners of contiguous houses and stores, owners of three closest houses (if non-resident), and owners of the ten closest houses (if resident) were allowed to assist. See Rinaldi, *Statuto di Forlì*, 276–7.

292. Among many other examples enumerated in van der Heyden/Multhauf: the dog in a Loyer Street residence, July 29, 1686, 80; warming pans in a basement on Angeliers Canal, December 28, 1682, 64; in a clothes attic on Leidze Canal, January 12, 1684, 69; and in the Bloed Street corner house, July 29, 1684, 73; the chimney fires at Kalver Street whalebone cutter, March 9, 1682; and poorhouse store room March 17, 1682, 59.

293. Patricia Labalme and Laura White, ed., *Venice Città Excelentissima: Selections from the Renaissance Diaries of Marin Sanudo* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).

294. Donatella Calabi, *Venezia in fumo: I grandi incendi della città-fenice*, (Bergamo: Leading, 2006).

295. Rinaldi, ed, *Statuto di Forlì*, 153, XV: "De muris et parietibus fatiendis inter vicinos ... ad ignis periculum ... statuimus et ordinamus quod quilibet de civitate et burgis Forlivii teneatur et debeat murare inter se et vicinum suum vel saltem ambo vicini facere unum murum comunem de lapidibus."

296. *Melozzo da Forlì : La sua città e il suo tempo*, 234–5n1 and 408–9.

297. There were other serious fires in Forlì in 1128, 1173, 1256, and 1353. See Calandrini and Fusconi, *Forlì e i suoi vescovi*, vol. 1, 45–6, 46n31, 137n248 and Carlo Dolcini, "Il Comune di Forlì nei secoli XII e XIII, 127–54 in Augusto Vasina, ed., *La Storia di Forlì: Vol. II. Il Medioevo* (Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1990), 142. For the 1523 fire, see Bezzi, *FT*, 10.

298. Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 36:68, translated by D. E. Eichholz, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962), vol. 10, 159.

299. Robert Bartlett, *Trial by Fire and Water: The Medieval Judicial Ordeal* (Oxford: Clarendon Press,

1986); Franco Cuomo, *Nel nome di Dio: Roghi, duelli rituali e altre ordalie nell'Occidente medievale cristiano* (Rome: Newton Compton Editori, 1994), 54–69.

300. Samuel Cohn, "The Black Death and the Burning of the Jews," *Past & Present* 196 (August 2007): 3–45; Monteyne, *The Printed Image in Early Modern London*, 155–214.

301. G. J. C. Snoek, *Medieval Piety from Relics to the Eucharist* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 328–338; Calabi, *Venezia in fumo*, 33; Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance* F*lorence*, 381ff.

302. See with further references, Donald Weinstein, *Savonarola and Florence: Prophecy and Patriotism in the Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), esp. 283–8 and Lauro Martines, *Fire in the City: Savonarola and the Struggle for Renaissance Florence*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

303. Ernst Benz, "Ordeal by Fire," 241–264 in *Myths and Symbols: Studies in Honor of Mircea Eliade*, ed. Joseph Kitagawa and Charles Long (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), 244–5.

304. Frederick Tubach, *Index exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1969), nos. 2041 and 2035. I thank Jean-Claude Schmitt for valuable discussions of these types of miracles.

305. Tubach, *Index exemplorum*, nos. 2034, 2047, 2699.

306. Raymond Davis, trans., *The Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes (Liber Pontificalis): The Ancient Biographies of Ten Popes from A.D. 817–891*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1995), 119.

307. The altarpiece was dismembered during the eighteenth century. The central panel is now in the National Gallery, London, while the side panels are in the Brera in Milan, and the predella in the Pinacoteca Vaticana, Rome. See, with further bibliography, David Jaffé, Luke Syson, Denise Allen and Jennifer Helvey, "Ercole de' Roberti: The Renaissance in Ferrara," *The Burlington Magazine* 141 (1999): xxvii.

308. Viroli, *Pittura dal duecento al quattrocento*, 34–5; Nediani, "La lunetta della Madonna del Fuoco," 8–9.

309. Archivio Capitolare Forlì, Busta 23/2. I thank Marjorie Cohn for sharing her thoughts on the date of this print with me (personal communication, August 28, 2009).

310. Snoek, *Medieval Piety from Relics to the Eucharist*, 330.

311. Humbert of Romans, *Legenda sancti Dominici*, sections 18 and 19, reprinted in Barbara Dodsworth, *The Arca di San Domenico* (New York: Peter Lang, 1995), 140–1. More generally, see also Daniel Sarefield, "The Symbolics of Book Burning: The Establishment of A Christian Ritual of Persecution," in *The Early Christian Book*, ed. William Klingshim and Linda Safran (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2007), 159–76.

312. Anita Moskowitz, *Nicola Pisano's Arca di San Domenico and its Legacy* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, for the College Art Association, 1994), 10.

313. Jacopo de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: St. Dominic*, trans. William Caxton available online at Paul Halsall, ed., *The Internet History Sourcebooks Project (IHSP)*, accessed December 26, 2012, http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/goldenlegend/GL-vo41-dominic.asp.

314. Michele Bacci, "The Legacy of the Hodegetria: Holy Icons and Legends between East and West," in *Images of the Mother of God: Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*, ed. Maria Vassilaki (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 327–8. I thank Annemarie Weyl Carr and Ruth Leader Newby for drawing my attention to this Madonna.

315. Joseph Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 88.

316. According to the caption on an eighteenth-century engraving by Anton Birckhart, this panel painting was undamaged *auser einigen kleÿen merckmahlen* ["execpt for a few small blemishes"]. Till-Holger Borchert, *Van Eyck to Durer: The Influence of Early Netherlandish Painting on European Art, 1430–1530* , exh. cat. Groeningemuseum, Bruges, 29 Oct. 2010–30 Jan., 2011 (London and New York: Thames and Hudson, 2010), cat. no. 87, 236. I thank Marjorie Cohn for this reference.

317. Snoek, *Medieval Piety from Relics to the Eucharist*, 331.

318. Wolf in Vassilaki, *Images of the Mother of God*, 25; Placido Lugano, *S. Maria Nova (S. Francesca Romana)* (Rome: Libreria Mantegazza), Plate XIV: "A tempo di Onorio III (1216–1227) rimase illesa tra il fuoco di un incendio che danneggiò la chiesa."

319. Snoek, *Medieval Piety from Relics to the Eucharist*, 332.

320. Snoek, *Medieval Piety from Relics to the Eucharist*, 332–3.

321. Holmes, "Miraculous Images in Renaissance Florence," 447, 463n40.

322. The Madonna di Reggio was also known as the Madonna della Ghiara. Alfonso Isachi, *Relatione di Alfonso Isachi intorno l'origine, solennità, traslatione, et miracoli della Madonna di Reggio* (Reggio Emilia: Flaminio Bartoli, 1619), 165–6; Pietro Antonio Cassuoli, *Veridico racconto dell'origne, progressi e miracoli della M di Reggio* (Modena: Bartolomeo Soliani, 1666), 112. See also Giovanni Rho, *Sabati del Giesù di Roma overo esempli della Madonna* (Rome: Ignatio de'Lazari, 1665), ff. 112–8.

323. Ricceputi, *Istoria*, 19. This passage is discussed at further length in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER FOUR: DOMESTIC DISPLAY: LOMBARDINO DA RIPETROSA'S SCHOOLHOUSE

324. Giovanni Battista Casotti, *Memorie istoriche della miracolosa Immagine di Maria Vergine dell'Impruneta* (Florence: Giuseppe Manni, 1719), 44–45. See also Franco Cardini, "Nostra Signora dell'Impruneta: L'immagine, il culto, la leggenda," in *Impruneta, una pieve, un paese: Cultura parrocchia e società nella campagna Toscana* (Florence: Libreria Salimbeni, 1983), esp. 83; Michele Bacci, *'Pro remedio animae': Immagini sacre e pratiche devozionali in Italia centrale (sec. XIII e XIV)* (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2000), 48–55.

325. Gasparo Bombaci, *Memories acre degli hyomini illustri ... della città di Bologna* (Bologna: Per Giacomo Monti e Carlo Zenero, 1640), 39: "gittò talmente in alto la Capella della Beata Vergine, che per quello spatio rimasto tra il terreno, e'l muro gittato in alto, fu da quelli, ch'erano fuori veduta la Città di dentro, e i Soldati, che stavano preparati per difenderla: ma subito scendendo in giù, ritornò il muro nel luogo medesimo, d'onde la forza del fuoco l'avea separato, e si ricongiunse insieme, come se non fosse mai stato mosso." On the cult, see Nicolas Terpstra, *Lay Confraternities and Civic Religion in Renaissance Bologna* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 16–17, 23–8, 205–16 and Mario Fanti, *Confraternite e città a Bologna nel medioevo e nell'età moderna* (Rome: Herder, 2001), 551–85.

326. On the long tradition of bleeding Madonna miracles and its continuation, Maria Vassilaki, "Bleeding Icons," *Icon and Word*, ed. Eastmond and James, 121–9. For a related Milanese example of the Christ child bleeding, eventually enshrined in Bramante's chancel at Santa Maria presso San Satiro, see Paul Davies, "The Devotional Functions of Perspective," *Art History*, Online Early View 2013, DOI:10.1111/1467–8365.12032, 16–18.

327. Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image*, 69–77; Karen-Edis Barzman, "Early Modern Spectacle and the Performance of Images," in *Perspectives on Early Modern and Modern Intellectual History: Essays in Honor of Nancy Struever*, ed. Joseph Marino and Melinda Schlitt (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2001), 296–7.

328. On benediction versus the more elaborate ritual of consecration, see Gatticus, *De oratoriis*, 109–19 (ch. 12) and 415–16 (ch. 28). On confraternal care, Barbara Wisch and Diane Ahl, ed., *Confraternities and the Visual Arts in Renaissance Italy: Ritual, Spectacle, Image* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Terpstra, *Lay Confraternities and Civic Religion*, 206; Terpstra, "Confraternities and Local Cults: Religion between Class and Politics in Renaissance Bologna," 153.

329. Barzman, "Early Modern Spectacle and the Performance of Images," 297; Freedberg, *The Power of Images*, 105–7; John Marino, *Becoming Neapolitan: Citizen Culture in Baroque Naples* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University, 2010), 113.

330. Richa, *Notizie*, vol. 2, 133. See also William Connell and Giles Constable, *Sacrilege and Redemption in Renaissance Florence: The Case of Antonio Rinaldeschi* (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2005), 57–71 and Holmes, "Miraculous Images in Renaissance Florence," 437–8, where the fifteenth-century fresco that replaced the original Trecento one is illustrated as fig. 2.

331. Holmes, "Miraculous Images in Renaissance Florence," 437.

332. Marvin Trachtenberg, *Building in Time: From Giotto to Alberti and Modern Oblivion* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010).

333. Edward Muir, "The Virgin on the Streetcorner," in *Religion and Culture in the Renaissance and Reformation*, ed. Steven Ozment (Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1989), 25–6. See also Richard Trexler, "Florentine Religious Experience: The Scared Image," *Studies in the Renaissance* 19 (1972): 7–41; Jane Garnett and Gervase Rosser, "Notes from the Field: Anthropomorphism," *Art Bulletin* 94 (2012): 22–4.

334. Peter Thornton, *The Italian Renaissance Interior, 1400–1600* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1991), 261–5; Donal Cooper, "Devotion," in Marta Ajmar-Wollheim and Flora Dennis, *At Home in Renaissance Italy*, exh. cat.: London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 2006, 190–203; Jacqueline Musacchio, in *Art, Marriage, and Family in the Florentine Renaissance Palace* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), 190–228; Margaret Morse, "Creating Sacred Space: The Religious Visual Culture of the Renaissance Venetian *Casa*," *Renaissance Studies* 21 (2007): 151–84.

335. Johannes Baptista Gatticus, *De oratoriis domesticis et de usu altaris portatalis* (Rome: Geneorsi Salmoni, 1746); Joseph Braun, *Der christliche Altar in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Munich: Verlag Alter Meister Koch, 1924).

336. ASFirenze, Diplomatico Mediceo, March 16, 1422, as cited in Howard Saalman and Philip Mattox, "The First Medici Palace," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 44 (1985): 343 appendix VI; see also pp. 344–45, appendix IX. See also Philip Mattox, "Domestic Sacral Space in the Florentine Renaissance Palace," *Renaissance Studies* 20 (2006): 664 and 668–9.

337. Girolamo Ferrari, *Dissertatio de oratoriis domesticis* (Rome: Monaldini, 1766), 350–1: "ab aula separatum," as cited in Mattox, "Domestic sacral space," 672n68.

338. See Ajmar-Wollheim and Dennis, *At Home in Renaissance Italy*, 22, 36–7, 207, 215. I thank Rab

Hatfield for sharing with me his thoughts about the Tornabuoni *salotto di sopra*.

339. Musacchio, *Art, Marriage, and Family*, 197. See also Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*, 54.

340. Mattox, "Domestic sacral space," 668–9.

341. Giovanni Dominici, *Regola del governo di cura familiare* (MS ca. 1405), ed. D. Salvi (Florence: Garinei, 1860), 131–2. On Dominici, see with further references, Creighton Gilbert, "On Subject and Not-Subject in Italian Renaissance Pictures," *Art Bulletin* 34 (1952): 202–16; Geraldine Johnson, "Beautiful Brides and Model Mothers: The Devotional and Talismanic Functions of Early Modern Marian Reliefs," in *The Material Culture of Sex, Procreation, and Marriage in Premodern Europe*, ed. Anne McClanan and Karen Encarnación (New York: Palgrave, 2002); Musacchio, *Art, Marriage, and Family*, 208–210. Silvio Antoniano, *Dell'educazione cristiana e politica de'figliuoli, libri tre* (Florence: Tip. della Casa di correzione, 1852, orig. Verona ed. 1584), 150–1, 153–4, 316. On Antoniano, see Margaret Morse, "Creating Sacred Space: The Religious Visual Culture of the Renaissance Venetian Casa," *Renaissance Studies* 21 (2007): 158, 168–70. Girolamo Savonarola, *Predica dell'arte del bene morire* (Florence: Bartolommeo di Libri, 1496), f. A6 recto: "che tu ti facessi dipingere in una carta il paradiso disopra & lo inferno di sotto: & tenessila in camera tua in loco che ti fussi spesso inanzi alli occhi: ma non pero che tu ne facessi uno habito di vederla & che poi la non ti movessi nulla."

342. For Florence, Musacchio, *Art, Marriage, and Family*; for Venice, Morse, "Creating sacred space"; for Sicily, Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, *Artistes, patriciens et confréres: production et consommation de l'œuvre d'art à Palerme et en Sicile occidentale (1348–1460)* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1979), 30–7. See also Peter Thornton, *The Italian Renaissance Interior, 1400–1600* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1991), 261–5.

343. Silvio Antoniani, *Dell'educazione cristiana e politica de'figliuoli* (Turin: GB Paravia, 1926): 133–4, Libro II, Capo XXXV: Della particular divozione verso la Santissima Vergine Maria… . il fanciullino … veda ancora spesse volte nella camera della sua madre alcuna bella e divota imagine di Maria Santissima; e vegga come riverentemente la madre, e gli altri si chinano innanzi alla Madonna; … E se conviene fare tutto questo con I figliuoli maschi, molto più maggioremente si dovrà fare colle femmine, alle quali questa altissima Regina deve esser proposta per Modella ed esemplare di umiltà e di ogni virtù."

344. David Wilkins, "Opening the Doors to Devotion: Trecento Triptychs and Suggestions Concerning Images and Domestic Practice in Florence," in *Studies in the History of Art 61: Italian Panel Painting of the Duecento and Trecento*, ed. Victor Schmidt (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art; New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), 377; Morse, "Creating Sacred Space," 161. See also Ronda Kasl, "Holy households: art and devotion in Renaissance Venice," 59–90 in *Giovanni Bellini and the Art of Devotion*, ed. Ronda Kasl, exh. cat. (Indianapolis: Indiana Museum of Art, 2004).

345. ASForlì, Fondo Notai, Asti Astio Filippi, vol. 35, c. 61r-62v, 22 July 1430 as transcribed in *Melozzo da Forlì: La sua città e il suo tempo*, 406–7. For comparanda, see James Lindow, *The Renaissance Plaace in Florence: Magnificence and Splendour in Fifteenth-Century Italy* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), esp. 119–34.

346. The family of Leone Cobelli lived "in contrata sancti Thome de conturberio" between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries; the father of Marco Palmezzano, Antonio di Battista Palmezzano (who lived on what is today via Maurizio Bufalini) did so as well in the fifteenth century. See Carlo Grigoni, "La famiglia di Leone Cobelli, Pittore e cronista,", in *Rassegna bibliografica dell'arte italiana*, ed. in Egidio Calzini (Rocca S. Casciano: Licinio Cappelli Editore-Tipografo, 1989), 123–37; Grigioni, *Marco Palmezzano, pittore forlivese: nella vita, nelle opere, nell'arte* 6, 298. On the contrade of Forlì, see Lucio Gambi, "La città e il suo ambiente fino al Rinascimento," in *Melozzo da Forlì: La sua città e il suo tempo*, 173.

347. Lindow, *The Renaissance Palace*, 123–4.

348. On the *cofanos a sponsa* and *tabulecta cum tripedibus*, see Thornton, 192–204 and 210; Musacchio, *Art, Marriage, and Family*, 122–56. A *librozolo* was a small book, or in Italian a *codicetto*. See Lodovico Antonio Muratori, *Rerum italicarum scriptores: Raccolta degli storici italiani*, vol. 28, part 3 (Città di Castello: Tipi dell'editore S. Lapi, 1905), 392. The phrase "vachetta" ("little cow") refers to a narrow vellum notebook, used by Florentine businessmen to record their shop records. On this, see Paul Gehl's perceptive article "'Mancha uno alfabeto intero': Recording Defective Book Shipments in Counter-Reformation Florence," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society* 93 (1999): 319. I thank Keith Stevens for discussing these inventory terms with me.

349. Giosuè Carducci e Enrico Frati, ed., *Cronache forlivesi di Leone Cobelli … dalla fondazione della città sino all'anno 1498* (Bologna: Regia Tipografia, 1874), 526.

350. Bonoli says he "insegnava pubblicamente umane lettere" (*Istoria*, vol. 2, 129). See Paul Grendler, "The organization of primary and secondary education in the Renaissance," *Catholic Historical Review* 71 (1985): 185–205; Paul Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300–1600* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989).

351. It appears that Lombardino da Ripetrosa did not teach in a university at all during his career; he does not appear in David Lines, *Teachers of Arts and Medicine in the Italian Universities, c. 1350–1650* (Fall 2001; August 2002), a database of all known university professors who taught arts or medicine during the Italian Renaissance. Even a more settled teacher of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries who taught in Bergamo for some thirty years (and whose son became a schoolteacher in the same city after him), Lorenzo Domenico de Apibus had also worked as a notary and private tutor earlier in his career. See Christopher Carlsmith, *A Renaissance Education: Schooling in Bergamo and the Venetian Republic* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 32. Robert Black noted an early fifteenth-century notary in Prato who considered teaching young students a last-resort profession, taken up when he could no longer earn his living in another way (*Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Tradition and Innovation in Latin Schools from the Twelfth t the Fifteenth Century* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001], 35). I thank David Lines, Robert Black, and Christopher Carlsmith for their thoughts about Lombardino's career trajectory.

352. See Giovanni di M. Pedrino, *Cronica*, 50 and 62; Adamo Pasini, *Storia della Madonna del Fuoco di Forlì* (Forlì: Valbonesi, 1982), 27. See also Pasini, *Cronache scholastiche forlivesi* (Forlì: Valbonesi, 1925), 1–14. I am profoundly grateful to Antonella Imolesi at the Biblioteca Comunale "Aurelio Saffi" in Forlì and the Interlibrary Loan Department at Central University Libraries, Southern Methodist University for arranging a special interlibrary loan of this last text.

353. Nicolai Rubinstein, "A Grammar Teacher's Autobiography: Giovanni Conversini's *Rationarium vite*," *Renaissance Studies* 2 (1988): 154–62. Conversino adds, "He who hates me should make me travel" (160: "Qui mi odit, peregrinari compellat").

354. Peter Denley, "Governments and Schools in Late Medieval Italy," in *City and Countryside in Late Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Essays Presented to Philip Jones*, ed. Trevor Dean and Chris Wickham (London: Hambledon Press, 1990), 105. Much later, in 1618, there is documentation of a three-year contract for a schoolmaster in Forlì being renewed (ASForlì, Comune, Consigli, vols. 82–90 [1618], 230–1).

355. Pasini, *Cronache scolastiche forlivesi*, 5; Grendler, "The Organization of Primary and Secondary Education," 187. See also Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*, 3–22; Denley, "Governments and Schools," 97–98.

356. Rinaldi, *Statuto*, 300, 332; see also Giuseppe Manacorda, *Storia della scuola in Italia. Vol. I: Il Medioevo. Parte II. Storia interna della scuola medioevale italiana* (Milano: Remo Sandron, 1876–1920), 300. Carlsmith reports similar exemptions for schoolteachers in Bergamo (*A Renaissance Education*, 33–4) and Denley in Pistoia, Siena, Brescia, Ferrara and Genoa ("Governments and Schools," 95).

357. In 1268, a schoolteacher in Siena was given assistance with rent; in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, teachers were given regularly given free use of a house; in the fifteenth century, houses were often given to schoolteachers in Lombardy and Piedmont. See, with further references, Denley, "Governments and Schools," 95; Manacorda, *Storia della scuola in Italia*, I, 189–90.

358. In Forlì, the public schoolhouse was not necessarily a modest structure: in 1656 "a house in the Piazza [Maggiore] adjacent to the Palazzo Pubblico, called the Palazzo del Podesta because it had long ago served as the dwelling of the foreign governors [*Podesta forasterie*], now serves as the public school" [Archivo di Stato di Roma, Buon Governo, ser. IV, vol. 1004, f. 4r].

359. Denley states, "In Vigevano the students were charged by height and therefore according to the bench they occupied" ("Governments and Schools," 105 citing Manacorda, *Storia della scuola in Italia*, I, 180n92).

360. Also called *tole*, *tolelle*, *cedula or*, or *collum*. Ottavia Niccoli, "Bambini in preghiera nell'Italia fra tardo medioevo e età tridentina," in *Quaderni di storia religiosa* 8 (2001): 273–300; Piero Lucchi, "La Santacroce, il Salterio e il Babuino: libri per imparare a leggere nel primo secolo della stampa," *Quaderni storici* XIII/fasc II (1978): 593–630, esp. 599–603. See also Grendler, "What Piero Learned in School: Fifteenth-Century Vernacular Education," 161–74 in *Piero della Francesca and His Legacy*, ed. Marilyn Lavin, *Studies in the History of Art* 48, 1995.

361. See, with further references, Black, *Humanism and Education*, esp. 34–48. Another way to describe these three classes used in the period was *de tabula*, *non latinantes*, *latinantes* (Denley, "Governments and Schools," 104).

362. Minneapolis Institute of Art 71.46. The area in the foreground in which this detail would appear is obscured in the Roman painting by the tomb of Cardinal Camillo Paolucci which is directly below it; this still-life may have been omitted, as the positions of the ceramic vessels just above is slightly changed between the oil study and the final painting in Rome. Both the Minneapolis painting and the one in San Marcello al Corso are discussed further in Chapter 8.

363. Bonvesin de la Riva, *De vita scholastici* (Venice: Theodorus de Ragazonibus, 1495), f. C3 verso: "Virgo Maria tibi fac sit specialis amica. Hanc decores ores hanc reverenter ames… . Ista magistrorum doctrina discipulorum. Est rectrix calatus docta magistra vie. Hec est pupillis viduis iterantibus

egris Mater consilium pausa medela levis." I have consulted the copy in Yale's Beinecke Library. Bonvesin (ca. 1250–ca. 1313) was likely born in Milan and is cited as "magister" e "doctor gramatice" in Leganano and Milan in 1296. Between 1291 and 1304, he had a house in which he taught in Porta Ticinese. *De vita scholastica* was widely read, appearing in some twenty editions between 1479 and 1555. See Silvia Marcuccio, *La scuola tra XIII e XV secolo: Figure esemplari di maestri* (Pisa and Rome: Istituto Editoriali e Poligrafici Internazionale, 2002), 107–21; José Antonio Trigueros Cano, "Bonvesin da la Riva y sus 'Laudes de Virgine Maria,'" *Estudios románicos* 1 (1978): 9–58.

364. Bezzi, *FT*, 7–8: "O che trionfo, che non si può ridire senza stupire! Hauea quel fuoco da principio per alimento le Panche, e gli Armarij della Scuola: con questo viatico sodisfece alla sua natura di viaggiare in alto; poiche giunse in un tratto alla sacra Carta delitia dell'Altissimo. All'aspetto di quella Santissima Imagine arrestò i passi per riverenza il fuoco, e le fiamme (ò stupore!) in guisa di dita innocenti d'una divota mano la staccarono dal muro, dove stava inchiodata: stimò il fuoco troppo vile quella parete per sostenere così degno Ritratto: mà volle, che il Cielo di quel foglio à guisa de gli altri Cieli havesse per base una sfera di fiamme. Tuttavolta nel chiuso di quella stanza s'agitava il fuoco, e l'Imagine illesa vi vedea sopra, come in suo Trono: già già divorava il fuoco i travamenti del primo palco, e n'appriva l'uscita al riverito foglio per esaltarlo, non per abbruciarlo. Con esso foglio sul dorso sorvola al secondo palco, e quindi in un momento al tetto, sbuca fuora del tetto, ed ecco apparire l'Imagine della Vergine sù quel mirabile rogo, come Fenice trionfante, non abbruciante."

365. Giovanni Marciano, *Memorie historiche della congregatione dell'oratorio* (Naples: De Bonis Stampatore, 1699), 328, which provides a fairly detailed description of the church and its furnishings, mentioning the "ammirabile architettura" of the dome, as well as the paintings by Albani, Sacchi, and Cagnaccio displayed in the tribune.

366. Astolfi, *Historia universale delle imagine miracolose della Gran Madre di Dio.*, 788–9 for the discussion of Forlì in which Astolfi describes, instead of the Madonna of the Fire, a wooden cult icon known as the Madonna di Germania, which had been given to the Jesuits of Forlì in 1584 by the Duchess of Brunswick. On the Madonna di Germania, see Gaetano Moroni, *Dizionario di Erudizione Storico-Ecclesiastica* (Venice: Tipografia Emiliana, 1844), vol. XXV, 305. I thank David d'Andrea for illuminating discussions about Astolfi's book.

367. Ricceputi, *Istoria*, 35: "Dunque le penne poetiche, e alcuni pennelli moderni, a'quali par che sia lecita ogni cosa, s'han preso troppa licenza nello scrivere o delineare questo miracolo. Hanno voluto rappresentare a gli occhi, e allo 'ntendimento de gli huomini un si gran fatto; e per farlo ben presto apparire, sicche in una sola occhiata restasse appreso il trionfo, che riportò una Carta di così grande incendio, finsero la Carta medesima volante sopra le Fiamme: ma fu certo invenzione poetica, e libertà di pittore."

368. Ricceputi, *Istoria*, 34–5: "rappresenta la Sacratissima Carta, non volante soura del tetto, ma affissa alla sua tavoletta di legno dentro la Casa incendiata, resistente però alle fiamme."

369. Ricceputi, *Istoria*, 19: "l'Immagine, e salvossi per essa anche la tavoletta di legno cui era . . . imbroccata, . . . appeso al muro quel lieve peso per tre giornate senza veruna lesione . . . si trasfondesse da quell'Immagine un maestoso splendore souvranaturale, che per tre giorni illustrò tutto quel luogo ad un segno, che vennero così più evidentemente tirate le pupille de riguardanti, ed incitati più efficacemente i popoli a gridare Miracolo Miracolo."

370. *Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre e profane*, Bologna, 1581–1582; a Latin translation, much praised by contemporaries (I. Mazzoni, Possevino, Baronio) and by seicenteschi (Pacheco and Ottonelli-Berrettini) was published by Ingolstadt in 1594. See Julius Schlosser, *La letteratura artistica*, trans. Filippo Rossi (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1995), 430–1. I have used the text published in Paola Barocchi, ed., *Trattati d'arte del Cinquecento, fra manierismo e Controriforma* (Bari: Laterza, 1961), II, 117–509 (hereafter Paleotti-Barocchi).

371. Paleotti-Barocchi, 267–8.

372. Paleotti-Barocchi, 270.

373. Paleotti-Barocchi, 267–89. The Italian terms are *temerarie*, *scandalose*, *erronee*, *sospette*, and *eretiche*. See also Pamela Jones, "Art Theory as Ideology: Gabriele Paleotti's Hierarchical Notion of Painting's Universality and Reception," in *Reframing the Renaissance: Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America, 1450–1650*, ed. Claire Farago (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 132–3, 322; Charles Dempsey, "Mythic Inventions in Counter-Reformation Painting," in *Rome in the Renaissance*, ed. Paul Ramsey (Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1982), 55–76.

374. Paleotti-Barocchi, 275, 279: "erronee . . . tutte le specie di falsità che peccano in materia di fede o di costumi ma non giugono al grado delle eretiche. . . . alla eresia due cose congiuntamente, l'una dalla parte dello intelletto che pigli errore nelle cose della fede, l'altra dalla parte della volontà che pertinacement aderisca a tale."

375. Paleotti-Barocchi, 272: "se saranno cose solamente imaginate per far piangere e destare fervore di devozione, non avendosi riguardo alcuno al decoro della persona o alla probabilità e verisimilitudine del

fatto, certo che ciò non difenderà l'autore dalla temerità. Il che ci è parso di avvertire grandemente, però che molti, mossi da zelo indiscreto, errano facilmente in questo, non vi usando la debita prudenza."

376. Paleotti-Barocchi, 371, in a discussion of abuses common to sacred and profane pictures. See also Walter Melion, "Self-imaging and the engraver's *virtù*: Hendrick Goltzius's *Pietà* of 1598," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 46 (1996), 130.

377. Bonoli, *Istorie*, 215: "Dalla quali narrativa si scopre quanto vadino errati coloro, che fanno trasportata dalle fiamme in alto la sudetta imagine, togliendo assai al miracolo, potendosi da qualchuno dubitare, che dalla forza del fumo, fusse, qual semplice carta, trasportata in simul modo, indi dal vento reso salva da quell'incendio, in altra parte respinta."

378. *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, trans. Henry Schroeder (Rockford, Illinois: TAN Books and Publishers, 1978), 215–16: "The holy council commands all bishops and others who hold the office of teaching have charge of the *cura animarum*, that in accordance with the usage of the Catholic and Apostolic Church ... they above all instruct the faithful diligently in matters relating to intercession and invocation of the saints."

379. *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, 216: 25th Session, "On the invocation, veneration, and relics of saints, and on sacred images."

380. Ricceputi, *Istoria*, 13–14 (see also 37, 49, 75): "In somma io desidero il mio lettore solamente devoto; non intendo io quivi di scrivere d'Accademico, ma da Religioso ... io cerchi in questi pochi caratteri altro che d'imprimere ne' cuori a'fedeli la vera divozione di MARIA Vergine nelle sue Immagini, e massime in questa di cui Favello."

381. Ricceputi, *Istoria*, 72: "alcune formole di esercitare il culto di questa Sacratissima Immagine così in tutto l'anno, come in certi tempi particolari."

382. There is a long tradition of books of formulaic prayers that were commended by Lainez's sacred lectures on prayer (Rome, 1558), including Erasmus's *Modus orandi Deum* (1524) and later Jerome Nadal's *Adnotationes et meditationes in Evangelia* (1595). See John O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 162–4; and Walter Melion and Frederick Homann, *Nadal's Annotations and Meditations on the Gospels*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2003–7).

383. Ricceputi, *Istoria*, 15: "Non ha sotto di se quel trono di fiamme, che hora vi si dipinge nelle copie, che se ne formano; perche allora non era per anco cognominata la Madonna del Fuoco: ma vi s'aggiungono quelle fiamme al presente in riguardo al Miracolo, che diremmo."

384. Domenico Bolzoni, *Storia della nuova chiesa a Maria SS. del Fuoco in Forlì dedicata* (Forlì: Casali, 1819), 29–30; Riccardi, *Storia dei Santuari ... di Maria*, 362.

385. Riceputi, *Istoria*, 63. Cesare Scanelli also indicated that the house had been rebuilt "sollecitamente" and that a 1781 procession of the Madonna of the Fire paused "a riconoscere e salutare la memorabile casa del gran miracolo" (*Relazione dei ricorsi fatti in Forlì alla SS. Vergine del Fuoco in occasione de' tremuoti dell'anno 1781* [Forlì: Barbaiani, 1781], 35).

386. A testament dated December 18, 1497 shows that Lorenzo Hercolani made a bequest for the founding of the Congregazione dello Spirito Santo, but Sigismondo Marchesi (*Supplemento istoricia*, 560) indicates that it "fu introdotta" in 1491, and Ricceputi (*Istoria*, 151) states that the Congregation had been active "sin dall'anno 1492." See also Pasini, *Storia*, 35; Rubus, "Il patrimonio della Madonna," *La Madonna del Fuoco* 4 (1918): 55–7; Adamo Pasini, *Cesare Hercolani*, Forlì, 1922, 13; Ignis, "La Congregazione dello Spirito Santo," *La Madonna del Fuoco* 4 (1918): 6–7.

387. Ricceputi reports that the lay portion of the Congregation of the Holy Spirit had statutes approved by Bishop Tomaso dall'Aste as early as 1496, before its separation that Congregation, which then included only priests (*Istoria*, 151). See also Calandrini and Fusconi, *Forlì e i suoi vescovi*, vol. II, 166; Pasini, *Storia*, 50. Like other Italian confraternities, the early modern confraternity of the Madonna of the Fire was also active in civic philanthropy, for example, in giving dowries to poor girls. For Venetian confraternities, see Richard Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971). See Also Christopher Black, *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 168–233; and Barbara Wisch, "Keys to Success: Propriety and Promotion of Miraculous Images by Roman Confraternities," 161–84 in Thunø and Wolf, *The Miraculous Image*. This chapter was completed before the publication of the magisterial study of the Roman Confraternity of the Gonfalone by Barbara Wisch and Nerida Newbigin, *Acting on Faith: The Confraternity of the Gonfalone in Renaissance Rome* (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2013).

388. ASVat, Congreg. Concilii Relationes 343A, ff. 45–8: "mulierim quae non paucis intendit operibus pijs ... [congregatio] sub invoacatione Sancti Spiritus quae habet presbyos confratres" and f. 221: "Altera SSma Virginis ab Igne nulli pariter aggregata ex quam alteram suffragantium societas provenit, qui sunt tercenti viri totidiquinque muliere." The mention of women carrying out pious works in the name of the Madonna of the Fire is repeated in the 1623 report (ff. 71–5).

389. ASForlì, Atti di Notai, Giuseppe Moratini, vol. 1988, 11 recto, testament of Domenico

Raimondi, 3 September 1620: "mansionarii sint obligati inservire altari dicte Sanctissime Beate Marie Virginis ab igne in dicta ecclesia prout et sicut faciant ad presens moderni mansionarii et etiam semper et in omni tempore et toties quoties occasio se obtulerit quod sanctissima immago Beate Marie Virginis ab igne quacunque de causa exponetur voluit et mandavite." In the nineteenth century, the responsibilities of the Mansionarii to other parts of the cathedral, notably the choir, were in dispute. See Biblioteca Comunale Aurelio Saffi, Forlì, Fondo Piancastelli, no. 179. ASVat, Congreg. Concilii Relationes 343A, f. 165: "Mansionarij in super Beatae Mariae Virginis ab Igne octo in ea sunt." An eighteenth-century account book now in the Archivio di Stato, Forlì, shows that they also organized a number of masses said or sung at various altars in the cathedral (ASForlì, Fondo E G. 2597, Mansionarii della SS Vergine del Fuoco, 838).

390. Ricceputi, *Istoria*, 51.

391. Bezzi, *FT*, 89; Ricceputi, *Istoria*, 63; Pasini, *Storia*, 105–7; Domenico Bolzoni, *Storia della nuova chiesa a Maria SS. del Fuoco in Forlì dedicata* (Forlì: Casali, 1819), 30.

392. Domenico Bolzoni, *Storia della nuova chiesa di Maria Santissima del Fuoco in* Forlì (Forlì: Casali, 1819), 31–4; Antonio Riccardi, *Storia dei santuari più celebri di Maria Santissima sparsi nel mondo cristiano, Tomo Secondo* (Naples: Vincenzo Manfredi, 1846), 362–4; Giuseppe Cappelletti, *Le chiese d'Italia della loro origine sino ai nostri giorni* (Venice: Giuseppe Antonelli, 1844), 353–4, 357–9.

393. See the Introduction, with further references.

394. *Santuari d'Italia*, 362–3. Luigi Mirri (1747–1824) was born in Forlì and studied architecture in Rome before returning to his hometown in the late eighteenth century. He also designed the facades of the palazzi of the Orselli and of the Romagnoli brothers as well as the Spezeria dei Poveri on via Garibaldi. See Giuseppe Casali, *Guida per la città di Forlì* (Forlì: Casali, 1838), 27n2, and Giovanni Francesio, ed., *La provincia di Forlì-Cesena* (Milan: Touring Editore, 2003), 40.

395. The literature on the Holy House of Loreto is enormous: see, with many further references, Karin Vélez, "Resolved to Fly: The Virgin of Loreto, the Jesuits and the Miracle of Portable Catholicsim in the Seventeenth-Century Atlantic World," (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2008); Ronald Lightbown. *Carlo Crivelli* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 39–45; Paul Murphy, "The Jesuits and the Santa Casa di Loreto: Orazio Torsellini's *Lauretanae historiae libri quinque*," 269–81 in *Spirit, Style, Story: Essays Honoring John W. Padberg, S. J.*, ed. Thomas Lucas (Chicago: Loyola Press, 2002); Nanni Monelli and Giuseppe Santarelli, *La Basilica di Loreto e la sua reliquia* (Loreto: Congregazione Universale della Santa Casa, 1999); Floriano Grimaldi, ed., *Il santuario di Loreto: Sette secoli di storia, arte, devozione* (Rome: Autostrade, 1994).

396. Floriano Grimaldi, *L'ornamento marmoreo della Santa Cappella di Loreto* (Loreto: Delegazione Pontificia per il Santuario della Santa Casa di Loreto, ca. 2000); Kathleen Weil-Garris, *The Santa Casa di Loreto: Problems in Cinquecento Sculpture* (New York: Garland, 1977).

397. Monelli and Santarelli, *La Basilica di Loreto e la sua reliquia*, 14–34.

398. Isabelle Frank, "La Passione raccontata da Melozzo nella sagrestia di San Marco," 76–87 in Grimaldi, *Il santuario di Loreto: Sette secoli di sotria, arte, devozione*.

399. Nagel, *The Controversy of Renaissance Art*, 252; Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 195–217.

400. Murphy, "The Jesuits and the Santa Casa di Loreto," 276–7.

401. Angelitta, *Historia della translatione della S. Casa della Madonna a Loreto* (Macerata: Giuliano Carboni, 1580), 10: "in questo luogo grande, santo, e terribile, Christo vivente, Iddio, & huomo, con la Madre, e Discepoli havvi mangiato, bevuto, dormito, fatto orationi."

402. Luigi Lazzari, *Dodici Sermoni sopra la S. Casa di Loreto, con la vita del Patriarca San Benedetto, e la Predica del Padre San Romoaldo* (Roma: Ignatio di Lazeri, 1669), 69, as quoted and translated in Vélez, "Resolved to Fly," 75.

403. Lightbown, *Carlo Crivelli*, 41.

404. Lettera per il VII Centenario Lauretano, as cited in Giuseppe Santarelli, *La Santa Casa di Loreto: Un'esperienza di fede e di arte attraverso i secoli* (Milan: Mondadori, 1999) 152: "prima ed esemplare 'chiesa domestica' della storia."

405. Tommaso Nediani, *La Madonna del Fuoco e la sua Cappella nella Cattedrale di Forlì* (Pistoia: Officina TIpografica Cooperative, 1912), 16.

406. Casali, *Guida di Forlì*, 27: "Nella casa istessa, ove del 1428 l'Immagine di SS rimase illesa dalle fiamme." Emphasis mine.

CHAPTER FIVE: ECCLESIASTICAL ENSHRINEMENT: THE CATHEDRAL OF FORLÌ

407. Giovanni Boccaccio, *Trattatello in laude di Dante* (Milan: Carlo Signorelli Editore, 1960), 50: "E perciò ordinarono, a reverenza del nome di questa suprema potenzia, ampissime e egregie case, le quali ancora estimarono fossero da separare, così di nome, come di forma separate erano, da quelle che generalmente per gli uomini s'abitavano; e nominarono le 'templi.'" See Jason Houston, *Building a Monument to*

Dante: Boccaccio as Dantista (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), esp. 52–90 and Todd Boli, "Boccaccio's *Trattatello in laude di Dante*, or *Dante Resartus*," *Renaissance Quarterly* 41 (1988): 398–412.

408. Erik Thunø, "The Miraculous Image and the Centralized Church, Santa Maria della Consolazione in Todi," in Thunø and Wolf, *The Miraculous Image*, 31–6.

409. ASVat, Registra Vaticana, 530, f. 188r as cited in Calandrini and Fusconi, *Forlì e i suoi vescovi*, vol. 2, p. 146 n. 18: "Nolumus autem quod venerabilis frater noster Episcopus et dilecti filii Capitulum forlivense, seu rector ipsius capellae de oblationibus et elemosinis eidem capellae ratione dicte indulgentie consequende per fideles ipsos porrectis, preterquam in reparationem edificiorum et manutenionem seu ornamentorum ipsius capelle, quoquo modo disponere seu se intromittere possint."

410. André Vauchez, "Introduction," 1–5 in André Vauchez, ed., *La Religion civique à l'epoque médiévale et moderne (Chrétienté et Islam): Actes du colloque de Nanterre* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1995); André Vauchez, "Patronage of Saints and Civic Religion in the Italy of the Communes," in *The Laity in the Middle Ages*, ed. André Vauchez, trans. M. J. Schneider (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993), 153–68.

411. *Melozzo da Forlì: sua città* … , 282–5; A. Pasini, "Consacrazione dell'Altare della Madonna," *Madonna del Fuoco, IV* (1918): 122–4.

412. The other six altars consecrated by Bishop Alessandro Numai in 1474 were the main altar, and those dedicated to Saint Nicholas, to Saint George, to Saint Stephen, to Saint Michael, and to Saints James and Christopher. Pasini, "Consacrazione dell'Altare della Madonna," 122–4; *Melozzo da Forlì : sua città* … , 282–5.

413. Adamo Pasini, "La nostra cattedrale nel Quattrocento," *Madonna del Fuoco* II (1916): 37.

414. Capranica was appointed to the post – in canon law equivalent in authority to a diocesan bishop – in Fermo in 1425; he was elevated to the cardinalate either July 23, 1423 or May 24, 1426. *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiano Online*, s.v. "Domenico Capranica" by Alfred Strnad, (1976) accessed July 5, 2011, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/domenico-capranica_(Dizionario-Biografico)/. See also Alessandro Saraco, *Il cardinal Domenico Capranica (1400–1458) e la riforma della chiesa* (Rome: Edizione liturgiche, 2004), esp. 16–17. I thank Marjorie Cohn for helping me access this book.

415. Bezzi, *FT*, 8–9: "Il miracolo in un tratto tirò a sè gli occhi di tutto il Popolo, e giunse all'orecchie di Monsignor Domenico Capranica… . Corse il devoto Prelato all'applauso di tante voci sparse dalla meraviglia di vista così stupenda. Lo stupore occupò gli occhi, non i passi del Capranica, ne rifinò, sin che non hebbe riscattata dalle fiamme la meravigliosa Carta, con privare del gusto, che mostrava di havere in baciarla, non moderla, quell'insenssato elemento. Il tutto gli venne felicemente fatto, la trasportò processionalmente nella Catedrale detta di S. Croce accompagnata da tutto il Popolo."

416. Thunø, "The Miraculous Image and the Centralized Church, Santa Maria della Consolatione in Todi," in Thunø and Wolf, *The Miraculous Image*, 36; Nicholas Terpstra, *Lay Confraternities and Civic Religion in Renaissance Bologna* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

417. It is possible to see Capranica in Bezzi's narrative as the outsider figure of the type discussed in Georg Simmel, "The Stranger," in The Sociology of Georg Simmel, trans. Kurt Wolff (New York: Free Press, 1950), 402–8.

418. Giovanni Pansecco's chronicle of Forlì is now lost, but the section on the Madonna of the Fire was published in Paolo Bonoli, *Storia di Forlì* (Forlì: Luigi Bordandini, 1826), vol. 2, 131–4. See also Fabbri, *La Madonna del Fuoco di Forlì fra storia, arte e devozione*, 55–8.

419. On the fifteenth-century bequests to the Madonna of the Fire, see Pasini, *Storia della Madonna del Fuoco*, 33–36; Rubus, "Il patrimonio della Madonna," *La Madonna del Fuoco* 4 (1918): 55–7; and Franco Zaghini, "Fra i segni di devozione anche 14 tornature," *Il Momento* (1981), nn. 1–2.

420. ASVat, Registra Vaticana, 530, ff. 187v-188r, as cited in Calandrini and Fusconi, *Forlì e i suoi vescovi*, vol. 2, 145–6n18: "in Ecclesia Forliviensi Capella Beate Marie ab Igne nuncupata…ad illius aedificiorum reparationem ac paramentorum et ornamentorum emptionem manus adiutrices porrexerint." See also Fabbri, *La Madonna del Fuoco di Forlì fra storia, arte e devozione*, 59–61.

421. Calandrini and Fusconi, *Forlì e i suoi vescovi*, vol. 2, 140n12; Pasini, *Storia*, 38; Ignis, "Il culto della Madonna nel quattrocento," *La Madonna del Fuoco* 3 (1917): 22–24.

422. Ignis, "La Congregazione dello Spirito Santo," *La Madonna del Fuoco* 4 (1918): 6–7. In 1590 and again in 1606, official reports to the Vatican describe the Congregation of the Holy Spirit as having "priest-brothers" [*habet presbyos confratres*] (ASVat, Congreg. Concilii Relationes 343A, ff. 28v, 45–8).

423. Joyce de Vries, *Caterina Sforza and the Art of Appearances: Gender, Art and Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), 201; Foschi and Prati, *Melozzo da Forlì: La sua città e il suo tempo*, 282–5.

424. Andrea Bernardi, *Cronache forlivesi di Andrea Bernardi (Novacula) dal 1476 al 1517* (Bologna: R. Deputazione di Storia Patria, 1895–1897), 306–10. See also Viroli, *Chiese*, 46; Calandrini and Fusconi,

Forlì e i suoi vescovi, vol. 2, 157–66 and Mariacristina Gori, "L'architettura e la scultura nei secoli XV e XVI," in *Storia di Forlì: Vol. III. L'Età moderna*, ed. Casanova and Tocci, esp. 218–9.

425. Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig: Seemann, 1907–62), vol. 2, 259.

426. Steven Ostrow, *Art and Spirituality in Counter-Reformation Rome: The Sistine and Pauline Chapels in S. Maria Maggiore* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

427. Bezzi, *FT*, 12.

428. Francesco Pasini to Bishop Giacomo Teodoli, "vedere la Cappella [della Madonna della Canonica] uniforma a quella della . . . Madonna del Fuoco" [Archivio Capitolare Forlì, Atti Capitolari, 6, ff. 135r and v]. Though now rectangular, in April 1636, an official description of the church dated April 28, 1636 explicitly calls the niche "constitutum in hemicyclo" [Archivio Vescovile Forlì, Atti di S. Visita, III, f. 12v, as cited in Calandrini and Fusconi, *Forlì e i suoi vescovi*, vol. 1, 163n50].

429. ASVat, Congreg. Concilii Relationes 343A, f. 123v: "duem Marmorem extant per quam conspicum eximia quis propter eximia miracula, quibus Civitas hic e donari solet, quarum prima est sub invocatione Beatisme V Nuncupatem Della Canonica cui quidem V. Marie nuncupater Del Foco."

430. Caterina Sforza had arrived in Forlì in 1484 with her husband, Girolamo Riario, whose rule over Imola and Forlì David Chambers called "a new papal experiment in control of the Romagna" (*Popes, Cardinals and War: The Military Church in Renaissance and Early Modern Europe* [London: Tauris, 2006], xix), in contrast to the more direct control Julius II effected in making Forlì a Papal State. See also n. 423 above.

431. See Nicholas Terpstra, "Confraternities and Local Cults: Civic Religion between Class and Politics in Renaissance Bologna," in *Civic Ritual and Drama*, ed. Alexandra Johnston and Wim Hüsken (Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi, 1997), esp. 158–60; Terpstra, *Lay Confraternities and Civic Religion;* Paolo Prodi, *The Papal Prince: One Body and Two Souls: The Papal Monarchy in Early Modern Europe*, trans. Susan Haskins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), esp. 123–156.

432. Nicholas Terpstra, "'Republics by Contract": Civil Society in the Papal State," in *Civil Society, Social Capital and their Alternatives in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Nicholas Eckstein and Nicholas Terpstra (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 293–311; Angela De Benedictis, *Republica per contratto. Bologna: una città euopea nello Stato della Chiesa* (Bologna: il Mulino, 2004).

433. One important modification was the establishment of the Novanta Pacifici in 1590; this important board would oversee important aspects of the 1636 translation of the Madonna of the Fire (discussed in Chapter 6). Various subsequent popes confirmed the Novanta Pacifici. See p. 25 of the Statutes published in 1616 (*Statuta civitatis Forolivii* [Forlì: apud Franciscus Surianum, 1616]), as well as Aiti, *L'amminstrazione cittadina*, 6–7, 27–29; Franco Zaghini, "Il Seicento a Forlì: Le istituzioni e il rinnovamento della città," in *Guido Cagnacci, Protagonista del Seicento tra Caravaggio e Reni*, ed. Daniele Benati and Antonio Paolucci, exh. cat. (Forlì: San Domenico, 2008), 61–75; Cesarina Casanova, "Politica e società," in *Storia di Forlì: Vol. III. L'Età moderna*, ed. Cesarina Casanova and Giovanni Tocci (Bologna: Nuova Alfi, 1991), 13–40.

434. Mauro Carboni, "Public Debt, Guarantees and Local Elites in the Papal States (XVI–XVIII Centuries)," *Journal of European Economic History*, 38 (2009): 149–74. On the Congregation of Good Government, see Elio Lodolini, *L'archivio della S. Congregazione del Buon Governo (1592–1847)* (Rome: Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato, 1956); Stefano Tabacchi, "Buon Governo, Sacra Consulta e dinamiche dell'amministrazione pontificia nel XVII secolo," in *Dimensioni e problemi della ricerca storica*, fasc. 1 (2004), 43–65; and Stefano Tabacchi, *Il Buon Governo: Le finanze locali nello Stato della Chiesa (secoli XVI–XVIII)* (Rome: Viella, 2007).

435. Ludwig van Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 25, ed. Ralph Francis Kerr (London: Kegan Paul, French, Trubner & Co, 1930), 85–6. See also Peter Partner, "Papal Finance Policy in the Renaissance and Counter-Reformation," *Past and Present* 88 (1980): 17–62, esp. p. 29.

436. De Benedictis, *Repubblica per contratto*, 286–87. See also Sigismondi, "La Congregazione del Buon Governo," 200n30.

437. As Massimo Carlo Giannini notes, "costruzione di uno spazio fiscale italiano della Santa Sede . . . giunse a maturazione nei primi decenni del Seicento" (*L'oro e la tiara: La costruzione dello spazio fiscale italiano della Santa Sede, 1560–1620* [Bologna: Mulino, 2003], 9).

438. De Vecchis, *Collectio*, vol 1, 97 and vol. 2, 363; Angela Maria Girelli, *La finanza comunale nello Stato Pontificio del Seicento: Il caso di Assisi* (Padua: CEDAM, 1992, 36–7. See also Francesca Laura Sigismondi, "La Congregazione del Buon Governo dello Stato di Bracciano: un caso di parlamento signorile nel XVII secolo," in *Panta rei. Studi dedicati a Manlio Bellomo*, vol. 5, ed. O. Condorelli (Rome: Il Cigno Galileo Galilei, 2004), 196.

439. Tabacchi, *Il Buon Governo*, 244–5, 285–7.

440. ASRoma di Roma, Buon Governo, ser. IV, vol. 1004, ff. 1–16, ASForlì, Comune, Ammin. del Regolatore. The former is a1656 report to the Congregation that explicitly states, "One can see from the

yearly books of the said comptroller, which are in very good order and kept in the communal archive, that beyond the 2000 lire budgeted for the said extraordinary expenses, an additional two or three thousand lire are spent annually on said expenses" (f. 4r). Control over the uses of the 2000 lire for extraordinary expenses had already been asserted by the council in 1616 (see Aiti, *L'amminstrazione cittadina*, 81).

441. Aiti, *L'amminstrazione cittadina a Forlì*, 84.

442. ASForlì, Comune, Consigli, vols. 82–90 (1618), 154–5; Archivio Capitolare Forlì, Madonna del Fuoco, Busta 23/1/II. The thousand scudi were to be spent in three installments when the foundations for the new chapel were dug, when they were filled, and when they rose above ground level. See also Aiti, *L'amminstrazione cittadina*, 91.

443. For instance, the building of a parish church in Ficulle; of a residence for the prior in Mentegranaro; and of a convent in Monte S. Vito were approved by the Congregation in 1605 (Tabacchi, *Il Buon Governo*, 248–9).

444. In 1599, the Congregation of Good Government affirmed the wish that "the agents who manage [the municipalities'] affairs be elected by them"; however, in the first half of the seventeenth century it seems that they were most often appointed by the Cardinal-Nephew who acted as president of the Congregation. See Tabacchi, *Il Buon Governo*, 195–215; Lodolini, *L'archivio della S. Congregazione del Buon Governo*, xxxi–xxxiii.

445. ASForlì, Lettere Missive 468 (1615–1619), f. 284v. Stefano Tabacchi points out that "it is quite complicated to identify the agents" especially for the period between 1605 and 1656 (*Il Buon Governo*, 435), but on June 10, 1619, Forlì's agent was Antonio Sassi (see Calandrini and Fusconi, *Forlì e i suoi vescovi*, vol. 1 276n124). Sassi does not appear on Tabacchi's list of nine out of the thirteen agents elected by Paul V in 1605 (205); he may have been the agent in 1618 who in the surviving correspondence is always addressed simply as "Signor Agente."

446. With further bibliography, Dante Bolognesi, "Le risorse e gli uomini," in *Storia di Forlì: Vol. III. L'Età moderna*, ed. Casanova and Tocci, esp. 72–5, 77–8.

447. ASForlì, Lettere Missive, 467 (1613–15), c. 41, as cited in Nanni, "Per 'honore e riputatione della città,'" 4, which provides a comprehensive analysis of the Ponte and Porta di Schiavonia projects: "sperando in tal modo, con certi altri pochi avanzi della Tabella, quando la spesa del ponte serà cessata, che sia presto, sottrarsi da questo peso."

448. Nanni, "Per 'honore e riputatione della città,'" 8: "un problema di natura politica."

449. ASForlì, Comune, Consigli, 78/85 (1613), cc. 228–231, Consiglio segreto, August 19, 1613, accessed April 20, 2009, http://158.110.144.249:8080/archive/lida?command=project&action=open_record&project_id=10&card_id=103.

450. Marchesi, *Supplemento istorico*, 762: "Mà il Consiglio segreto, vedendo l'esorbitanza delle spese, non potendo più tollerare, ragguagliarono il tutto con memoriale al Pontefice, et alla Congregatione del buon governo, mandando copia del memoriale in mano di ciascuno de' Cardinali, e Prelati dell'istessa Congregatione."

451. Nanni, "Per 'honore e riputatione della città,'" 8–9.

452. ASForlì, Comune, Consigli, vols. 82–90 (1618), 175–7. The usual chain of communication between a local community and the Congregation of Good Government went from the community to the agent in Rome. The Congregation received a request from the agent and replied through the local governor. See Tabacchi, *Il Buon Governo*, 288.

453. Prodi, *The Papal Prince*.

454. ASForlì, Comune, Lettere missive 468, f. 286: "Ha sentita questa Communità con infinito dispiace la negativa . . . i devono pagare i debiti come dice la Congregazione. La capella si deve fare senza tardanza più che questo e debito antichissimo della Città."

455. ASForlì, Comune, Lettere missive 468, f. 286v: "il principal debito che tenga la città con questa Immacolata Vergine per rittrovarsi in una cappelletta angusta e povera."

456. On Scipione Borghese as the "model cardinal-nephew," see Arne Karsten, *Künstler und Kardinäle: Vom Mäzenatentum römischer Kardinalnepoten im 17.Jahrhundert* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2003), 15–37. Nanni, "Per 'honore e riputatione della città,'" 8.

457. ASForlì, Comune, Lettere missive 468, f. 287 v: "l'Indecenza della povera capella ove si ritrova . . . et in havea il Consiglio Generale destinato Mille scudi per dar anime a privati gentiluomini cittadini et a tutto il Popolo . . . far ciascuno secondo la sua possibilità una larga limosina."

458. ASForlì, Comune, Lettere missive 468, f. 292: "Nel particolare della Capella, si e inteso che il nostro Memoriale é stato rimesso alla Congregazione del Buon Governo."

459. ASForlì, Comune, Lettere missive 468, f. 292v: "in materia della nova Capella per al Santissima Imagine della Madonna del Fuoco, la pregiamo novo a esser seco."

460. ASForlì, Comune, Lettere missive 468, f. 152r, accessed April 20, 2009, http://158.110.144.249:8080/archive/lida%3Fcommand=project&action=open_record&project_id=10&card_id=945].

461. Bonoli, *Storia di Forlì*, vol. 2, 58; Aiti, *L'amminstrazione cittadina*, 74–8.

462. ASForlì, Comune, Lettere missive 468, f. 294v: "Si è radoppiato il dispiacere non solo alla

Comunita ma a tutto questo Popolo sentendo che tutti Signori della Congregazione persistono nell'opnione di non volere concederli licenza di fare il donativo delli mille scudi per la nova Capella della Santissima Madonna Protettice della Città, e perchè ci siamo imaginati che questa duplicata negativa sia derivata perche la Congregazione pensi che la Comunità habbia un'gravissimo debito, ci e' paruti necessario farle sapere che non cosi, poiche il suo debito si ristringe in tutto, come vedra dell' Incluso bilanzo a scudi 4345 d74 e se non fosse stato la fabrica della nuova Porta sarebbe poco meno che estinto."

463. ASForlì, Comune, Consigli, 82/90 (1618), cc. 190–3, accessed April 20, 2009, http://158.110.144.249:8080/archive/lida?command=project&action=open_record&project_id=10&card_id=206.

464. ASForlì, Comune, Lettere Missive 468 fol. 297v: "non poteva credere con quanto disiderio ed aspetata questa . . . licenza di poter far il donativo per l'eretione della Capella della Santissima Vergine del Fuoco."

465. ASForlì, Comune, Consigli, vol. 90 (1618), 204–6.

466. ASForlì, Comune, Lettere Missive 468 fol. 300 (September 6, 1618). Some roads to and in Forlì also had to be reinforced to bear the weight of the quarried stone.

467. ASForlì, Comune, Lettere Ricettive 528 (1612–1619), f 165v-166r, 26 sett. 1618.

468. ASForlì, Comune, Lettere Missive, 468 f. 308v, 7 ott 1618: "mandato il Partito ottenuto in Consiglio, et ogn'altro cosa che li viene comandata."

469. ASForlì, Comune, Lettere Ricettive 528 (1612–19), f. 168, 17 November 1618: "Essendosi visti l'Instanza fatta più volte da cotesta Comunita, . . . si contenta che detta Communità degli avanti della sua Tabella possi spendire sia alla soma di scudi mille per erettione d'una Cappella nella Catedrale di coste, in honore della Santissima Madonna detta del fuoco."

470. ASForlì, Comune, Lettere Missive, 468, f. 249, 24, November 1636 and f. 311, 29, November 1618: "Dovendosi fabricare in questa nostra Catedral una sontuosa Capella in honore di una Imagine miracolosa di Maria Vergine Protetrice della Città . . ." Domenico Paganelli was born in nearby Faenza in 1545 and had worked in Rome and Lazio before returning to Romagna. See Ezio Godoli, "Faenza dall'XI al XVI secolo," in *Faenza: La città e l'architettura*, ed. Franco Bertoni (Faenza: Edit Faenza, 1993), 134.

471. Forlì Archivio Capitolare, Madonna del Fuoco, b. 23, 1, II.

472. Forlì Archivio Capitolare, Madonna del Fuoco, b. 23, 1, III.

473. ASForlì, Consigli, 92/100 (1628), c. 88v, Consiglio generale, 11 maggio 1628, c. 88v, and ASForlì, Lettere ricevute, 529 (1619–26), c. 79r, 26 June 1622, as cited in Nanni, "Per 'honore e riputatione della città,'" 12n54, 12n56.

474. ASForlì, Comune, Consiglio Generali e Segreti, 1633, v. 105, c. 88v-90r [adi 8 maggio 1633]: "Havendo i ss. Fabritieri della Santissima Madonna del Fuoco pregato in persona a cercare per limosina ala Santissima Madonna alcuni Sassi della Porta di Schiavonia che mancano per dar l'ultamano a quella fabbrica . . . tutti i sassi assolutamente che fanno bisogno per compimento della sua fabrica nonostante qualcunque altra cosa incontrarvi."

475. ASForlì, Comune, Consiglio Generali e Segreti, 1636, v. 108, c. 71v, May 8, 1636, accessed April 20, 2009, http://158.110.144.249:8080/archive/lida?command=project&action=open_record&project_id=10&card_id=807. This date precedes the procession, which took place on October 20, 1636, despite the note that the translation of the Madonna of the Fire to the new chapel was "ormai terminata."

476. ASForlì, Comune, Ammin. del Regolatore 730 (1636–7), f. 10v: "Deve dare [1 luglio 1636] per carta reale data a ms Stefano Bedolino per fare il disegno del tabernacolo della Sma Madonna del Fuoco per mandare a Bologna . . . lire 4 s– Et piú a di detti pagato al postiero di Forlì per mandare il disegno del Tabernacolo per farlo fare in Bologna . . . L1–0–8." Kevin Stevens indicated that a stationery shop in Milan in 1613 sold paper for 10 lire/ream or c. 500 sheets (personal communication, September 9, 2012); in 1618, a ream of paper maufactured in S. Martino (Buonalbergo) outside Verona cost between 4 lire 19 scudi to 9 lire 15 scudi in Veronese currency (Conor Fahy, *Printing a Book at Verona in 1622: The Account Book of Francesco Calzolari Junior* [Paris: Fondation Custodia, 1993], 51–2, 57n112, and I thank Paul Needham for this reference).

477. British Library K. Top. 75.68 f. 93, watercolor on paper with wash, two pieces of paper glued together, the first 490 mm × 358 mm, the second 1.020 mm × 248 mm. The drawing is illustrated as fig. 2 and discussed in Gabriele Gardini, "Cervia Vecchia: Materiali per lo studio della città," *Studi romagnoli* XLIX (1998): esp. 107–12.

478. The subject of the Rubicon alluded to how, as the 1655 report by Marco Antonio Querzagrossa put it, "quasi potesse Cristina emulare Cesare." Ercole Gaddi, "Cristina di Svezia ed il suo passagio per Forlì," *Rivista d'Italia* 8:1 (1905): 98–106.

479. On S. Giacomo, see *Iscrizioni nella città di Forlì e suo territorio* (Forlì: Casali, 1849), 66; on S. Filippo, see *Storia di Forlì: Vol. II*, 267. His year of birth is given in the latter reference, and in Viroli, *Chiese*, 52 as 1636, but either there was another, younger Stefano Bedolini or that year is incorrect.

480. Flaminio di Parma, *Memorie istoriche delle chiese, e dei conventi dei frati minori* . . . vol. I (Parma: Ededi Monti, 1760), 554.

481. It is now in the Biblioteca Comunale "Aurelio Saffi" in Forlì: BCFo Ser MS, Armadio I/33, on f. 61r: a title page with coats-of arms; f. 78v: the Crocetta; f. 78v: soldiers. The drawing of the Crocetta is illustrated as fig. LXI in Calandri and Fusconi, *Forlì e i suoi vescovi*, vol. I, 591.

482. Pietro Pirri, "Intagliatori gesuiti dei secoli XVI e XVII," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu*, 21 (1952): 10–28, 15, 19–26.

483. On the eighteenth-century renovation, see Riccardo Domenichini, Antonella Menghi, and Alberto Severi, *Guida di Forlì* (Rimini: Maggioli Editore, 1989), 25; Silvia D'Altri, *Duomo di S. Croce in Forlì* (Bologna: Studio Costa, 2000), 15. On Giovanni Giardini, see Angela Catello, "Giardini, Giovanni," in *Grove Art Online*. *Oxford Art Online*, accessed September 3, 2012, http://www.oxfordartonline.com.proxy.libraries.smu.edu/subscriber/article/grove/art/T032096 and Carlo Grigoni, *Giovanni Giardini da Forlì: Argentiere e Fonditore a Roma* (Rocca San Casciano: Arti Grafiche Cappelli, 1963), esp. 55.

484. Bezzi, *FT*, 14; Ostrow, *Art and Spirituality*, 151–8.

485. Holmes, *The Miraculous Images*, 220; Bezzi, *FT*, 14–15.

486. Ostrow, *Art and Spirituality*, 155–8; Andrea Emiliani et al., *La cupola della Madonna del Fuoco nella Cattedrale di Forlì* (Bologna: ALFA, 1979).

487. Ippolito Zanelli, *Vita del gran pittore Cavalier Carlo Cignani* (Bologna: Volpe, 1722), 30, accessed July 8, 2009, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/njp.32101060589676.

488. For other examples, see John Shearman, *Only Connect: Art and the Spectator in the Italian Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 153–91; Ostrow, *Art and Spirituality*, 158–67.

489. Holmes, *The Miraculous Image*, 211–56.

490. On Baldinucci and the *bel composto*, Giovanni Careri, *Bernini: Flights of Love, the Art of Devotion*, trans. L. Lappin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Bezzi, *FT*, 13–4; Forlì, Archivio Capitolare, Madonna del Fuoco, 23, I, II: "Atto Consigliare, 1 dicembre 1619 con cui fu proposto ed approvato che la detta nuova Cappella l'incrosti dentro sia di pietra rica, per maggiore ornamento."

491. Paleotti-Barocchi, II, 508: "Che nelle pitture sacre vi convengono ornamenti d'oro e preziosi et altre cose per maggiore venerazione."

492. Cynthia Hahn, "What Do Reliquaries Do for Relics?" *Numen* 57 (2010): 292.

493. For similar effects in the experience of Byzantine and Western medieval icons and altars, see Bissera Pentcheva, *The Performative Icon: Space, Ritual, and the Senses in Byzantium* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2010), 121–154 and Erik Thunø, "The Golden Altar of Sant'Ambrogio in Milan: Image and Materiality," in *Decorating the Lord's Table: On the Dynamics between Image and Altar in the Middle Ages*, ed. Søren Kaspersen and Erik Thunø (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2006), 64–6.

494. A governmental decree of Feb. 17, 1435 (ASFlorence, Provvisioni, 125, f. 207rv), as cited in Trexler, "The Sacred Image," 17: "Res sacre deoque dicate raritate ipsa videndi commendari maiorique in reverentia habere solent." For a discussion of pre-modern framing, see Glenn Peers, *Sacred Shock: Framing Visual Experience in Byzantium* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2005), esp. 1–12, 116.

495. Holmes, *The Miraculous Image*, 218.

496. Johann Hoffman, "Notizie su Forlì da un diario di viaggio del 1660," *Romagna arte e storia* 67 (2003): 53: "[Madonna] quae nomen traxit a foco in quo permansit inviolata in altari ligneo plane affabre facto et inaurato: et hoc sacellum in eo prestat alteri [a vulnere], quod fornicem lateraque habeat celata, pulchre inaurata et picta cum in altero nuda adhuc sint omnia." That "omnia nuda" must be relative: a 1639 report to the Vatican describes both chapels as "marmorem" (ASVat, Congreg. Concilii Relationes 343A, f. 124).

497. Peers, *Sacred Shock*, 12.

498. Germain Bazin, *The Museum Age*, trans. J. van Nuis Cahill (New York: Universe Books, 1967), 265. See also Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* (London: Routlege, 1995), 7–20.

499. See Viroli, *Chiese*, 107–8. I have not been able to consult Marco Vallicelli, *Fabrizio dall'Aste e l'Oratorio a Forlì* (Imola: Grafiche Galeati, 1990).

500. Marciano, *Memorie historiche*, 328: "ei fece alle sue pupille di non sollevare in alto lo sguardo, quando entrava, e si fermava ad orare . . . Era stata dalla magnanima pietà de' Forlivesi fabbricata con ammirabile architettura . . . Portavasi Fabritio frequentemente ad adorare quella sacra, e miracolosa Immagine, di cui era divotissimo, e quantunque sia quasi innestato dalla natura nel cuore di ciasched'uno certo impatiente desiderio di vedere l'esito felice de' publici edificii della Patria, . . . il Servo di Dio col freno della mortification havea trattenuta la naturale inclinatione, si che non haveva permesso a gli occhi suoi di vagheggiare quell'opera, che incantava, per così dire, le pupille di ciasche'uno, e sarebbero passati tutti gli anni della sua vita."

501. Ricceputi, *Istoria*, 15–16: "è in un fregio, che la circonda stanno ripartite molte Imaginette di Santi, le quali hora all'occhio non appariscono per essere restate coperte sotto il ricchissimo soprafregio d'argento e pietre preziose, che vi s'è fatto." Ricceputi

also tells us that the image was crowned in 1601. See Pasini, *Storia*, 60–1.

502. Ricceputi, *Istoria*, 92–3: "Quando si sente dar segno con le campane di qualche Messa, che si canti avanti la SS Madonna del Fuoco, si deve scommodare ogni persona divota per venire, se puo, ad adorara la Santa Immagine, che vi si scuopre: e quando non possa, deve in casa col desiderio supplire alla mancanza della persona; e stando alquanto inginocchio, far' in casa quella supplica, che sarebbe, se venisse alla Chiesa." On the multisensory encounter with icons, see Pentcheva, *The Sensual Icon*; on the Renaissance urban soundscape, Niall Atkinson, "Sonic Armatures: Constructing an Acoustic Regime in Renaissance Florence," *Senses & Society* 7 (2012): 39–52.

503. For a related phenomenon, see Michel De Certeau, who describes street names and numbers "orient[ing] the magnetic field of the trajectories" of an ordinary person walking in the street ("Walking in the City," 14). See also Sharon Strocchia, "Theaters of Everyday Life," in *Renaissance Florence: A Social History*, ed. Roger Crum and John Paoletti (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 57–8.

CHAPTER SIX: MOVING IN THE CITY: THE TRANSLATION OF 1636

504. Martine Boiteux, "Espace urbain, pratique rituelles, parcours symboliques: Rome dans la seconde moitié du XVIeme siècle," in *Rome: L'Espace urbain et ses représentations*, ed. F. Hinard and M. Royo (Paris and Tours: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne/Maison des Sciences de la Ville [Université de Tours], 1993), 129:"Une mémoire est moblisée, et commémorée, dans un encadrement spiritual et le territoire marquée par cet pratique rituelle est un espace symbolique." Civic and courtly processions were a common and significant early modern ritual practice. See, with further references, Barbara Wisch and Susan Scott Munshower, eds., *"All the world's a stage . . . ": Art and Pageantry in the Renaissance and Baroque*, 2 vols. (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 1990); J.R. Mulryne, Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, and Margaret Shewring, eds., *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, 2 vols. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004); Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Nicholas Howe, ed., *Ceremonial Culture in Pre-Modern Europe* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007).

505. Noreen, "The Icon of Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome," 672. The Salus Populi Romani is discussed as a Lucan painting in Chapter 2.

506. On the mobility and spatiality of urban ritual, see Simon Coleman and John Eade, *Reframing Pilgrimage: Cultures in Motion* (London: Routledge, 2004); John Urry, *Sociology beyond Societies: Mobilities for the Twenty-First Century* (London: Routledge, 2000); Zeynep Çelik, Diane Favro, and Richard Ingersoll, *Streets: Critical Perspectives* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Victor and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978); Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1969).

507. For the October 1777 "annual festival commemorating the translation," see Fondo Piancastelli Carte Romanga 179, carta 60 in the Biblioteca Comunale "Aurelio Saffi." These festivities continued beyond the eighteenth-century, including for example a procession through the city held February 2–5, 1928 (Pasini, *Storia*, 121–134; *La Madonna del Fuoco* 4 [1928]: 69–84).

508. Regarding 1635, see ASForlì, Consiglio Generali e Segreti, Anno 1635 vol. 107, f. 76 r. and v., May 5, 1635. About the 1684 and 1685 events see Ricceputi, *Istoria*, 12, 25. For the 1755 procession "per impetrare . . . la necessaria pioggio in tempo di aridissima siccità," see Fondo Piancastelli, Carte Romanga 179, cc. 47–8 in the Biblioteca Comunale "Aurelio Saffi." There were already extraordinary processions during the sixteenth century; see Adamo Pasini, "Storia della Madonna del Fuoco: Sec. XVI," *La Madonna del Fuoco* 3 (1927): 37–8.

509. Fondo Piancastelli Carte Romanga 179 c. 40 in the Biblioteca Comunale "Aurelio Saffi" and Forlì Archivio Capitolare, "Processioni fatte in diversi tempi con la Imagine della Santissimo Vergine del Fuoco," busta 23/1; Gaddo Gaddi, *Lettera istorica contenente il prodigio operato in Forlì [dalla] Madonna del Fuoco* (Forlí: Gioseffo Selva, 1688).

510. Sible de Blaauw, "Contrasts in Processional Liturgy: A Typology of Outdoor Processions in Twelfth-Century Rome," in *Art, cérémonial et liturgie au moyen âge: Actes du colloque de 3e Cycle Romand de Lettres Lausanne-Fribourg, 24–25 mars, 14–15 avril, 12–13 mai 2000*, ed. Nicolas Bock, Peter Kurmann, Serena Romano, and Jean Michel Spieser (Rome: Viella, 2002), 373–5.

511. Gerhard Wolf, *Salus Populi Romani: Die Geschichte römischer Kultbilder im Mittelalter* (Weinheim: VCH Acta humaniora, 1991), 71–3; Richard Ingersoll, "Ritual Use of Public Space in Renaissance Rome," (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1985), 224–6.

512. Bezzi, *FT*, 89. Bezzi's account is supported by, for instance, the proposal passed by the General Council on May 5, 1635 (ASForlì, Comune, Consigliore General e Secrete, 1633 vol. 105, c. 76r-v), as

well as by the procedures undertaken in response to the 1688 earthquake, described in Gaddi, *Lettera istorica*, 11–2. On the city's conservators, see Aiti, *L'amministrazione cittadina*, 39–45.

513. On music, see Osvaldo Gambassi and Luca Bandini, *Vita musicale nella cattedrale di Forlì tra XV e XIX secolo* (Florence: Olschki, 2003).

514. Official reports to the Vatican on Forlì's cathedral from 1623 and 1686 confirm that women were carrying out pious works in the name of the Madonna of the Fire (ASVat, Congreg. Concilii Relationes 343A, ff. 45–8, 71–5).

515. Jörg Gengnagel, Monika Horstmann, and Gerald Schwedler, eds., *Prozessionen, Wallfahrten, Aufmärsche: Bewegung zwischen Religion und Politik in Europa und Asien seit dem Mittelalter* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2008), 9.

516. Silvia Mantini, *Lo sacro spazio: Trasformazioni urbane e cerimoniali pubblici tra Quattrocento e Cinquecento* (Florence: Loggia dei Lanzi, 1995), 198–215.

517. Philippa Jackson and Fabrizio Nevola, "Beyond the Palio: Urbanism and Ritual in Renaissance Siena," *Renaissance Studies* 20 (2006): 137–46, 140.

518. Mantini, *Lo Sacro Spazio*, pp. 170–180; Trexler, "Florentine Religious Experience"; Terpstra, *Lay Confraternities and Civic Religion*, 23–28; Terpstra, "Confraternities and Local Cults: Religion between Class and Politics in Renaissance Bologna," in *Civic Ritual and Drama*, ed. Alexandra Johnston and Wim Hüsken (Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi, 1997); Stephen Milner, "The Florentine Piazza della Signoria as a Practiced Place," in *Renaissance Florence: A Social History*, ed. Roger Crum and John Paoletti, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 95.

519. Louis Marin, "Notes on a Semiotic Approach to Parade, Cortege and Procession," in *Time Out of Time: Essays on the Festival*, ed. Alessandro Falassi (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987), 224. See also Martha C. Howell, "The Spaces of Late Medieval Urbanity," in *Shaping Urban Identity in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. Marc Boone and Peter Stabel (Leuven-Apeldoorn: Garant, 2000), 18; Boiteux, "Espace urbain, pratique rituelles, parcours symboliques"; and Muir, "The Virgin on the Streetcorner," 37.

520. For antiquity generally, Ernst von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder: Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende* (Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1899), 1–39; for the Byzantine Marian icons, Bissera Pentcheva, *Icons and Power: The Mother of God in Byzantium* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2006), 109–43; for the Roman Savior icons, Nino Zchomelidse, "The Aura of the Numinous and its Reproduction: Medieval Paintings of the Saviour in Rome and Latium," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 55 (2010): 221–63, esp. 224–6, 239–43; Andrew Brown, *Civic Ceremony and Religion in Medieval Bruges* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 37–72.

521. See Boiteux, "Espace urbain, pratique rituelles, parcours symboliques"; Trexler, "Florentine Religious Experience"; and Mantini, *Spazio sacro*.

522. Marcello Balzani, "Le tracce della Forlì del Quattrocento: Immagine e trasformazione urbanistiche," in *Melozzi da Forlì e la sua città*. See also 270–5 in the same volume.

523. Lucio Gambi, "La città e il suo ambiente fino al Rinascimento," in *Melozzi da Forlì e la sua città*, esp. 171; Francesco Luigi Ravaglia, "La topografia della vecchia Forlì," *Universo* 38 (1958): 453–6.

524. Sigismondo Marchesi, *Supplemento istorico dell'antica città di Forlì in cui si descrive la provincia di Romagna*, Forlì, 1678. See also Lisa Pon, "Place, Print, and Miracle: Forlì's Madonna of the Fire as Functional Site," *Art History* 31 (2008): 303–21. Coronelli's map was one of two commissioned by Forlì; the other map showed Forlì's territory. Impressions of each survive, one in the Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze and the others in the Biblioteca Comunale "Aurelio Saffi" and in a number of noble family collections in Forlì. On the commission, see Cesare Casamorata, "Le mappe forlivese del Padre Coronelli," *L'Universo* 29 (1949): esp. 46–53. For more on Vincenzo Coronelli (1650–1718), the Venetian-born Franciscan famous across Europe for his globes and maps, see Massimo Donattini, *Vincenzo Coronelli e l'immagine del mondo fra isolari e atlanti* (Ravenna: Biblioteca Classense, 2001) and Hélène Richards, *Les globes de Coronelli* (Paris: Seuil/ Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 2006).

525. Marchesi, *Supplemento istorico*, 782; Bezzi, *FT*, 27.

526. The Collegio dei Novanta Huomini eletti sovra la Pace – instituted in 1540 with the authorization of Rome – was a local police, an affirmation of the self-government of the collective. See ASForlì, Atti del S.N. dei Novanta Pacifici (Archivio Particolare); L. Biondini, *Compendio dello stato et governo civile della città di Forlì*, Biblioteca comunale "Aurelio Saffi," autogr. cart. 1576, ms. 1/34, c. 16v; I. Spizzichino, *Magistrature dello Stato Pontificio (460–1870)* (Lanciano: Carabba, 1930), 230; S. Rabotti, 'II Novanta Pacifici di Forlì e il loro Archivio,' in *Rassegna degli Archivi di Stato*, 23:1 (January–April 1963), 107–34; Aiti, *L'amministrazione cittadina*, 45.

527. Bezzi, *FT*, 83; Marchesi, *Supplemento istorico*, 791.

528. Bezzi, *FT*, 27. King Alaric II of Spain ruled 485–507; King Alaric I of the Visigoths ruled 395–410 and sacked Rome in 410. According to the seventeenth-century tradition, there was a first San Mercuriale, around 130 who had been sent by Saint Apollinare of Ravenna, who would have constructed

the church of Santissima Trinità; it would have been a second Saint Mercurial, in the fourth century, who would have participated in the 359th Council of Rimini and liberated the more than 2,000 Forlivesi who would have been taken as prisoners to Spain by Alarico in 410.

529. See F. Lanzoni, "San Mercuriale nella leggenda e nella storia," *Rivista storico-critica delle scienze teologiche* I (1905): 479.

530. The tradition that Saint Mercurial "sepultus fuit in ecclesia s. Trinitatis de Forolivio, que tunc erat ecclesia cathedalis" and was founder of Santissima Trinità first arises in the fifteenth-century *Annales Forolivienses*. See Lanzoni, "San Mercuriale nella leggenda e nella storia," 472–74, 474n27.

531. On spatial practices, see Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. David Nicholson-Smith (Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1991). See also Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire," *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989), 7–25.

532. For examples of festival architecture in Europe from antiquity through the twentieth century, see Sarah Bonnemaison and Christine Macy, eds., *Festival Architecture* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008).

533. Martha C Howell, "The Spaces of Late Medieval Urbanity," in *Shaping Urban Identity in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. Marc Boone and Peter Stabel (Leuven-Apeldoorn: Garant, 2000), 4. See also Michel de Certeau, "Walking in the City," in *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2011).

534. This church was the seat of the Monache Convertite di Maria Maddalena. In the first half of the Cinquecento, the convertite joined the church, already since the fourteenth century had served the Confraternity of the Battuti Neri. The current church on the site was completed in the 1794 and is dedicated to Corpus Christi. See Riccardo Domenichini, Antonella Menghi, and Alberto Severi, *Guida di Forlì* (Rimini: Maggioli Editore, 1989), 81–2; Pier Desiderio Pasolino, *Caterina Sforza* (Rome: Ermanno Loescher, 1893), 212n3, citing Antonio Burriel, *Vita di Caterina Sforza*, 8 vols, (Bologna: Stamperia di S. Tommaso d'Aquino, 1795), vol. II, 254; Marchesi, *Supplemento istorico*, 761; Bonoli, *Istorie*, 403–4. The Jesuit church is now the church of San Francesco. See Bezzi, *FT*, 27, the note by Franco Zaghini on page XXV of the preface of the 1986 facsimile edition of *Il fuoco trionfante*, and, Viroli, *Chiese di Forlì*, 71–4; Gaetano Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica da S. Pietro sino ai nostri giorni* (Venice: Tipografia Emiliana, 1843) vol. 25, 307.

535. In ancient Rome, permanent triumphal architecture similarly "gave streets an ideological charge, reaffirming the nexus of conquest, imperial benefaction, and urban form, and made ordinary citizens complicit in their message." Elizabeth Marlowe, "Framing the Sun: The Arch of Constantine and the Roman Landscape," *Art Bulletin* 88 (2006): 235.

536. In Forlì, this community dedicated to Mary Magdalen was associated with the Dominican order and established in 1303. See Katherine Ludwig Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen: Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 122n22. For further references on the early history of the reform of prostitutes by the Catholic Church, see Christopher Witcombe, "The Chapel of the Courtesan and the Quarrel of the Magdalens," *Art Bulletin* 84 (2002): 289n45.

537. Bezzi, *FT*, 26: "In capo di quella strada giva la vista a terminare in un'assai ben'intesa Prospettiva con doppie loggie d'ordine corintio, in mezzo delle quali s'apriva uno sfondato, che, ingannando gli occhi, faceva loro parere di penetrare uno spatio assai maggiore del rimanente della strada dalla Prospettiva occupato." See also Marchesi, *Supplemento istorico*, 782.

538. Bezzi, *FT*, 26–7, plate "Prospettiva sul Borgo di Schiavonia"; Marchesi, *Supplemento istorico*, 782.

539. See Chapter 5.

540. Bezzi, *FT*, 23: "la continuata divotione della Città, la publica felicità ottenuta, e la speranza d'otteneme l'eterna."

541. Bezzi, FT, 44: "la fama di questo miracolo operato nel Fuoco dalla Vergine renderà celebre il nome della Città di Forlì."

542. Marchesi, *Supplemento istorico*, 782: "la via de'Cavalieri detta ancora Contrata grande."

543. Bezzi, *FT*, 34: "un Palco di forma … ricoperta … d'intorno di tele tirate su telari dipinte a marmi di variati colori in diversi compartimenti."

544. ASForlì, Comune, Novanta Pacifici, 390. See also Aiti, *L'amministrazione cittadina*, 45.

545. ASForlì, Comune, Regolatore, n. 730, anni 1636–1637, c. 38r-39v.

546. Girolamo Saffi's background and career remain unclear, though it seems difficult to believe that he was a member of the noble Saffi family, one of the most distinguished in Forlì.

547. A still-life painting attributed to the artist now in the Pinacoteca Civica "Melozzo degli Ambrogi" of Forlì gives the impression of an artist interested in illusions of deep space (see for instance, his *Natura Morte con sfondo di paesaggio*, acc. no. 141, accessed July 8, 2014, http://bbcc.ibc.regione.emilia-romagna.it/samirav2fe/loadcard.do?id_card=56746&force=1).

548. Forlì, Archivio Capitolare, Busta 23/3, "Dal volume dell'Ecclesiastica degli anni 1636–7, atti di Messer Teodoli."

549. Marchesi, *Supplemento istorico*, 782; Bezzi, *FT*, 26–7: "la strade grande . . . per tutto quell tratto le mura,e le fenestre adorne di varij tappeti, addobbi, e pitture . . . [l'altra] strada mostrava più, cho'ogn'altra, ricche le mura di superbi ornamenti."

550. Forlì, Archivio Capitolare, Busta 23/3. Michel de Certeau, "Walking in the city," 97; Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. A. Sheridan (New York: Vintage, 1995), 135–94.

551. The implications of viewing other types of marginalized women – Jews and nuns respectively – in the city are explored in Dana Katz, "'Clamber Not You Up to the Casements': On Ghetto Views and Viewing," *Jewish History* 24 (2010): 127–53 and Saundra Weddle, "The Ritual Frame and the Limits of Spatial Enclosure in the Early Modern City," Changing Boundaries conference, co-sponsored by the Society of Architectural Historians and the Institut national d'histoire de l'art, published online Spring 2009, http://www.inha.fr/colloques/document.php?id=72>. See also Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 265–6 and Sally Cornelison, *Art and the Relic Cult of St. Antoninus in Renaissance Florence* (Burlington VT: Ashgate, 2012), 255.

552. Benjamin McRee, "Unity or Division? The Social Meaning of Guild Ceremony in Urban Communities," in *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, ed. Barbara Hanawalt and Kathryn Reyerson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 189; Eric Monin, "The speculative challenges of festival architecture in eighteenth-century France," in Bonnemaison and Macy, *Festival Architecture*, 155–62; Brown, *Civic Ceremony and Religion in Medieval Bruges*, 1–3, 53–61; Ingersoll, "Ritual Use of Public Space," 193–5.

553. Archivio Capitolare di Forlì, "Ecclesiastica (1636–1637), atti di di M. Teodoli," b. 23/3.

554. Margit Thøfner, *A Common Art: Urban Ceremonial in Antwerp and Brussels during and after the Dutch Revolt*, (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2007), 46–7; see also David Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics, and Power* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), esp. 77–101.

555. For instance, in fourteenth-century Sienese festivals in honor of the Virgin Mary, bandits, convicted criminals, swindlers, rebels, and traitors were excluded from the communal requirement to offer candles in the cathedral. Bram Kempers, "Icons, Altarpieces, and Civic Ritual in Siena Cathedral, 1100–1530," in Hanawalt and Reyerson, *City and Spectacle*, 112.

556. See Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 151–2, 162–9.

557. Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 265.

558. See Franco Zaghini, "Carità creativa nel medioevo," 67–103 in *Scritti forlivese* (Forlì: Centro Studi Storia Religiosa Forlivese, 2005), esp. 93–101 and more generally Gennaro Maria Monti, *Le confraternite medievali dell'alta e media Italia*, (Venice: La Nuova Italia, 1927), vol. I, 97–202, 269–72. Confraternities from other cities – Fusignano, Cesena, and Meldola – also took part in the 1636 translation, marching before and after the Forlivesi (Bezzi, *FT*, 47–8, 83ff). The participation of foreigners in the translation will be discussed in Chapter 8.

559. Brian Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice: The Social Insitutions of a Catholic State, to 1620* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1977). On the Forlivese confraternities, see Franco Zaghini, "La populazione a Forlì nel secolo XV fra nascita, malattia e morte," in *Melozzo da Forlì: La sua città e il suo tempo* and "Compendio dello Stato, et governo civile di Forlì," MS I, 45, Biblioteca Comunale "Aurelio Saffi" di Forlì, 453–82.

560. Bezzi, *FT*, 49–76. It is not clear how many members marched for each confraternity, as Bezzi says only "in assai sufficiente numero" (49) or "buon numero" (46), and other sources do not offer more specific information. But in the 1485 Corpus Domini feast, 80 members of the Battuti Neri marched, along with the same number of Bigi and Rossi, 140 Bianchi, 156 Verdi, and 30 Celestini. See the *Cronache Forlivesi* of Andrea Bernardi, called Novacula, vol. I, 159, as cited in *Melozzo da Forlì: La sua città e il suo tempo*, 413–14.

561. McRee, "Unity or Division?" 192–3; Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 17–21.

562. The place of honor in a procession was not necessarily at the end of a procession. Terpstra, *Lay Confraternities and Civic Religion*, 219–21; Gerald Schwedler, "Prinzipien der Ordnung bei königlichen Prozessionen im späten mittelalter," in *Prozessionen, Wallfahrten, Aufmärsche*, 122–41; Antonio Ivan Pini, *Città, comune e corporazioni nel medioevo italiano* (Bologna: Editrice Clueb, 1986), 261–91.

563. On the history and use of painted banners in Italy, see (with further references) Jessica Richardson, "The Brotherhood of Saint Leonard and Saint Francis: Banners, Sacred Topography and Confraternal Identity," *Art History* 34 (2011): 884–913; Pascale Rihouet, "The Unifying Power of Moving Pictures in Late Medieval and Renaissance Umbria," (PhD diss., Brown University, 2008); Andreas Dehmer, *Italienische Bruderschaftsbanner des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2004); Michael Bury, "Documentary Evidence for the Materials and Handling of Banners," in *The Fabric of Images: European Paintings on Textile Supports in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. Caroline Villers

(London: Archetype, 2000), 21; Andreas Dehmer, "Dokumente zu Banner und Tabernakel der florentiner Compagnia di Santa Maria e San Zanobi im Trecento," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 43, no. 2/3 (1999): 597–605; Michael Bury, "The Fifteenth- and Early Sixteenth-Century *Gonfaloni* of Perugia," *Renaissance Studies* 12, no. 1 (1998): 67–72; Catherine R. Puglisi, "Guido Reni's Pallione del Voto and the Plague of 1630," *Art Bulletin* 77 (1995): 402–12; Caroline Villers, "Paintings on Canvas in Fourteenth Century Italy," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 58, no. 3 (1995): 342–52.

564. Bury listed *segni*, *gonfaloni*, *gonfalonetti*, *pennoni*, and *drappelloni* – but not Bezzi's term, "stendardi," to describe this type of banner ("The Fifteenth- and Early Sixteenth-Century *Gonfaloni*," 78–9). Pascale Rihouet states that "for Italian art historians," *stendardi* denotes "smaller processional paintings on wood" and that "in historical records … *stendardi* [are] larger than *bandiere*" ("The Unifying Power of Moving Pictures," 11, 13). The banners that Bezzi explicitly describes are quite large and painted on cloth. Bezzi, *FT*, 75–76. The banners painted by Albani and Sacchi, discussed below, are both about 405 cm × 230 cm, roughly twice as large as some late Trecento banners, including the Barnaba da Modena's *Crucifixion/Sts. Anthony Abbot and Eligius* (Victoria and Albert Museum 781–1894), 197 cm × 128 cm) or Spinello Aretino of *Mary Magdalen with a Crucifix/ Flagellation of Christ* (Metropolitan Museum of Art 13.175, 175.2 cm × 199.4 cm). A late-fifteenth-century plague gonfalone in Santa Maria Nuova, Perugia, and Guido Reni's *Pallione del Voto* are both larger than the earlier banners, but at 330 cm × 170 cm and 382 cm × 242 cm respectively, they are still decidedly smaller than the Forlivese ones (see for the former Bury, "Fifteenth- and Early Sixteenth-Century *Gonfaloni*," 72–3 and for the latter Stephen Pepper, *Guido Reni* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1984), 266, cat. no. 135.

565. Bezzi, *FT*, 49.

566. Zaghini, "Carità creativa nel medioevo," 93–4; L. Biondini, *Compendio dello stato et governo civile della città di Forlì*, Biblioteca comunale "Aurelio Saffi" di Forlì, autogr. cart. 1576, ms. 1/34/, f. 11v.

567. Bezzi, *FT*, 76: "Vi si mostrava più vivo, che dipinto un San Sebastiano duplicatamente maggiore del naturale, che con un scoricio mirabile tenea gli occhi affisati al Cielo. Era il bel nudo legato ad una Quercia, e contra di lui una masnada di Soldati da lungi fieramente scarricava il suo saettume."

568. Bezzi, *FT*, 76: "Il nome del Pittore accresce nome alla Pittura. E opera del dotto penello dell'Albani celebre Pittore Bolognese: lo stendaro havea il suo contorno frangiato d'oro, e'l rovescio ricoperto d'un bel drappo di seta rossa." See also Catherine Puglisi, *Francesco Albani* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), esp. cat. no. 89, 176.

569. Bezzi, *FT*, 64: "La pittura uscia dalla maestra mano d'Andrea Sacchi famoso pittore in Roma." On the Battuti Bigi, see Zaghini, "Carità creativa nel medioevo," 94–5.

570. See, with further references, Anne Sutherland Harris, *Andrea Sacchi* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), 64–5 and plate XLVIII. On Merlini (1590–1642), see Gaetano Rosetti, *Vite degli uomini illustri forlivesi* (n.p.: Matteo Casali, 1858), 291–99.

571. Given Albani's base in nearby Bologna, there may have been other connections between the painter and the Battuti Bianchi. On the proposed chronology, see Puglisi, *Francesco Albani*, 176.

572. ASForlì, Comune, Consiglio Generali e Segreti, Anno 1635 vol. 107, c. 118r, 7 July 1635.

573. Giordano Viroli, "La pittura in Romagna," in *La pittura in Emilia e in Romagna: Il Seicento*, ed. Grazia Agostini (Milan: Electa, 1994), 302.

574. Bury, "Documentary Evidence," 26.

575. Caroline Villers, "Paintings on Canvas," 347–8; Rihouet, "Unifying Power of Moving Pictures," 213.

576. Andreas Dehmer, "Dokumente zu Banner und Tabernakel," 598.

577. Louise Marshall, "Confraternity and Community: Mobilizing the Sacred in Times of Plague," in *Confraternities and the Visual Arts in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Barbara Wisch and Diane Cole Ahl (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 24–28, 42–43, 43n53; Rihouet, "Unifying Power of Moving Pictures," 213–8, with several other Perugian examples.

578. Marchesi, *Supplemento istorico*, 787, 789. Giordano Viroli, "La pittura in Romagna," 302–3.

579. On the links between the festival of St. John and the *sacra rappresentazione* in fifteenth-century Florence, see Alessandro d'Ancona, *Origini del teatro italiano* (Rome: Bardi, 1996), vol. I, 217–44.

580. On pastoral plays and their "religious potential" as overlooked in the scholarship on Renaissance drama, see Louise George Clubb, "Looking Back on Shakespeare and Italian Theater," in *Renaissance Drama*, New Series 36/37, ed. Albert Russell Ascoli (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2010), 12.

581. Bezzi, *FT*, 82; Marchesi, *Supplemento istorico*, 787.

582. Bezzi states the Verdi *macchina* was 30 piedi long; he also states that the Bigi banner, which is 405 centimeters tall, had a height of 14 *piedi* (64). This means 1 *piede* is 29 centimeters, and the Verdi wagon was 868 centimeters, or 342 inches – more than 28 feet.

583. Marchesi, *Supplemento istorico*, 789; Bezzi, *FT*, 56–58. On Francis Xavier's crab: Alessandro Valignano, ed., *Monumenta Xaveriana* (Madrid: Augustine Avrial, 1899–1912), Bulla Canonizationis Beati Francisci Xaverii, 713.

584. Bezzi, *FT*, 6–7: "d'una grandissima Salamandra, cosi ben'imitata dal vero, che si stimarebbe per naturale, se il picciolo natura le della vera Salamandra non fusse superato da questa finta . . . Camminava con quatro gran zamponi . . . E quindi dalla gran coda alzata dal suolo (che per lo piu stracinava per terra) e dallo smisurato Teschio zampillava fontane d'acqua, che . . . ne giva bagnando per ischera la bassa plebe . . . portava in mezo dell'ampio Campo della gran schiena con una divota destrezza una Statua della B. Vergine . . . con le fiamme a piedi in Manto turchino stellato d'oro."

CHAPTER SEVEN: MOBILE IN PRINT: THE PROCESSION ON PAPER

585. Ruth Lo, "The Compression of Time and Space in Festival Book Illustrations," published online at http://library.brown.edu/readingritual/lo_compression.html. I thank Evelyn Lincoln for bringing this essay to my attention.

586. The architecture is recognizable but also, in Ernst Gombrich's words, represented "with remarkable license," from "Celebrations in Venice of the Holy League and of the Victory of Lepanto," in *Studies in Renaissance and Baroque Art presented to Anthony Blunt* (London: Phaidon, 1967).

587. It is also clear that in being a far more durable medium than spectacular performance, printed festival books and pamphlets extended the reception of a festive event. Laurie Nussdorfer, "Print and Pageantry in Baroque Rome," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 29 (1998): 439–64.

588. *LA CAVALCATURA CON LE SUE CERIMONIE DUN PONTEFICE NUOVO QUANDO PIGLIA IL POSSESSO A SANTO GIOVANNI LATERANO*, ca. 1580–1600. Engraving; 385 cm × 2 cm. Online image at the Brown University Library Center for Digital Scholarship Digital Collections, accessed September 19, 2012, http://dl.lib.brown.edu/repository2/repoman.php?verb=render&id=1151939464763834. I thank Peter Harrington for confirming that this print is composed to two sheets of paper joined together. On the *possesso*, Irene Fosi, "Court and City in the Ceremony of the *Possesso* in the Sixteenth Century," in *Court and Politics in Papal Rome, 1492–1700*, ed. Gianvittorio Signorotto and Maria Antonietta Visceglia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Ingersoll, "Ritual Use of Public Space," 171–214.

589. Joseph Monteyne, *The Printed Image in Early Modern England: Urban Space, Visual Representation, and Social Exchange* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

590. Online image available at at the Brown University Library Center for Digital Scholarship Digital Collections, accessed September 19, 2012, http://dl.lib.brown.edu/repository2/repoman.php?verb=render&id=1151934329515630&view=showmods. See also Tozzi, *Incisioni barocche di feste e avvenimenti*, cat. no. I: 21.

591. "Il Campidoglio: il Senatore di Roma che si porta in habito di broccato d'oro con l'eburneo, e scetro a rendere obedienza a N.S. che si ferma a sentirlo."

592. Larry Silver, "Triumphs and Travesties: Printed Processions of the Sixteenth Century," in *Grand Scale: Monumental Prints in the Age of Dürer and Titian*, ed. Larry Silver and Elizabeth Wyckoff, exh. cat. (Wellesley: Davis Museum and Cultural Center, Wellesley College, in association with New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008).

593. See Michael Bury, *The Print in Italy, 1550–1620*, exh. cat. (London: British Museum, 2001), 183–4, cat. 121; David Rosand and Michelangelo Muraro, *Titian and the Venetian Woodcut* (Washington, DC: International Exhibitions Foundation, 1976), 281–5, cat. 89.

594. This can be seen by perusing the eight sheets of the impression at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, illustrated online at The Metropolitan Museum of Art Collection Online, accessed September 19, 2012, http://www.metmuseum.org/Works_of_Art/collection_database/drawings_and_prints/procession_of_the_doge_in_venice_matteo_pagano/objectview.aspx?OID=90036048&collID=9&dd1=9.

595. Giambattista Casotti, *Memorie istoriche della miracolosa immagine di Maria Vergine | dell'impruneta* (Florence: Giuseppe Manni, 1714).

596. Richard Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*, 63ff.

597. Casotti, *Memorie*, 247–8: "giunto sulla Piazza de'Pitti il venerabile Tabernacolo, . . . fu collocato in mezzo di essa, sopra un Palco coperto di Velluto cremisi, in fascia appunto alla Camera del Serenissimo Principe di Toscana! Il quale, sebbene gravemente infermo, levatosi dal letto, e senza uscire dalla stanze, affacciatosi alle vetrate della finestra, coll'assistenze del suo Confessoro, volle riverire in quella forma migliore, che poté la Santa Figura. . . . Piangevano alti per tenerezza dell'afflizione della Serenissima Consorte, che in compagnia della Sereniss. Principessa Eleonora, stava prostrata sul Ballatoio del Palazzo, accanto alla Camera dell'infermo Principe. E tutti ad una voce auguravano, che non fosse per trionfare si tosto la Morte, di chi aveva per sua Protettrice la Madre della Vita."

598. Casotti, *Memorie*, 218.

599. Princess Eleonora was at this point widowed. See Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica da S. Pietro*, p. 176. On Medici festivity more generally, see James Saslow, *The Medici Wedding of 1589: Florentine Festival as Theatrum Mundi* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996).

600. Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, "Early Modern European Festivals: Politics and Performance, Event

and Record," in *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance: Art, Politics and Performance*, ed. J. R. Mulryne and Elizabeth Goldring (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 22–3. See also Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, "The Early Modern Festival Book: Function and Form," in *Europa Triumphans*, ed. Mulryne and Watanabe-O'Kelly, 3–17.

601. ASForlì, Comune, Consigli Generale e Segreti, Anno 1636, no. 199, c. 154v-156r.

602. Christian Jouhaud, "Printing the Event: From La Rochelle to Paris," in *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Roger Chartier, trans. L. Cochrane (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), 291.

603. ASForlì, Comune, Novanta Pacifici, n. 390, f. 151v: "la descrittione e narrativa di tutto quello si è fatto et operato."

604. ASForlì, Comune, Regolatore, n. 731, anni 1637–1638, c. 31v: "per recognoscere delle fatiche fatte per la compositione del libro del raconto libre cento cinque, cio scudi 25."

605. ASForlì, Comune, Regolatore, n. 730, anni 1636–1637, c. 56: "Pagato a ms. Giovanni Cimatti scudi sei e soldi 4 per . . . per andare a Bologna per far intagliare e stampare in rame gli archi e macchine fatti in octto giorno et questo con ordine del consiglio segreto e generale, come ne apari ricevuta . . . L25–4." On book publishing in Forlì, see Pierangelo Bellettini, "La produzione tipografica," in *Storia di Forlì: III. L'età moderna*, ed. Cesarina Casanova and Giovanni Tocci (Bologna: Nuova Alfi, 1991).

606. ASForlì, Comune, Regolatore, n. 731, anni 1637–1638, c. 16v: "per le stampe di rame fatte in Bologna."

607. See the *DBI* s.v. Floriano dal Buono; Charles Le Blanc, *Manuel de l'amateur d'estampes*, vol. II (Paris: C. P. Jannet, 1856), 545; Naoko Takahatake, "The Print Industry in Bologna, c. 1570–1640," (PhD diss., Trinity College, University of Oxford, 2006), 54–65, 288–299. I thank Dr. Takahatake for generously sharing her research on Floriano dal Buono with me.

608. See Antonio Brighetti, *Bologna nelle sue stampe* (Bologna: Garisenda Antiquariato, 1979), 22, no. 26.

609. See Takahatake, "Print Industry in Bologna," 60, appendix I.9.

610. See Takahatake, 55 and appendix I.7 and Brighetti, *Bologna nelle sue stampe*, no. 22.

611. Puglisi, "Guido Reni's Pallione del Voto," 404.

612. Bezzi, *FT*, 23: "Era di piano piedi ventiotto, di altezza piedi cinquantaquattro, il vano dell'Arco per larghezza piedi dodici, di altezza piedi ventiquattro. Il pennello non hebbe che affatticarsi per rilevare co'colori le parti dell'Arco: tutti i capitelli, le lor foglie, corniciamenti, volute, & altre, erano di legname iscavato. . . . Quattro Colonne d'un piede, & un quarto per diamatro accordate con altre quattro di due terzi, appoggiate ad un risalto, che si spiccava dal mura, regevano su loro piedistalli con molta vaghezza tutto l'Arco. Su l'architrave, e cornicione s'ergeva un grande, e ben inteso frontispitio adorno da'lati, e su la cima di Statue di Angeli con fiamme di fuoco accese in mano . . . La statua sopra esso frontispicio mostrava l'effigge di Livio Salinatore vestita dell'Imperiale paludamento primo Fondatore della Città di Forlì."

613. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 38.

614. Emily Peters, "Printing Ritual: The Performance of Community in Christopher Plantin's *La Joyeuse & Magnifique Entrée de Monseigneur Francoys . . . d'Anjou*," *Renaissance Quarterly* 61 (2008): 370–413; Saslow, *The Medici Wedding*, 180–1, 248–59; for the latter, see Marinella Pigozzi, ed., *In forma di festa: Apparatori, decoratori, scenografi, impresari in Reggio Emilia dal 1600–1857* (Reggio Emilia: Grafis Edizioni, 1985), 80–1, 84–8.

615. MMA 64.180.1. More information and a zoomable image at The Metropolitan Museum of Art Collection Online, accessed October 14, 2014, http://www.metmuseum.org/collections/search-the-collections/90007662?img=0. I thank Aidan Weston-Lewis, Carmen Bambach, Nadine Orenstein, and Femke Speelberg for discussing this drawing with me. On preparatory drawings for Italian engravings, see Bury, *The Print in Italy*, 13–28.

616. Bezzi, *FT*, 74–5.

617. One would expect a preparatory drawing to be the same size as the corresponding engraving, as the drawing now in the Victoria and Albert Museum for one of the processional wagon in the festivities for the 1589 Medici wedding is the same size as the finished print. Saslow, *The Medici Wedding*, 149–50, cat. nos. 73 and 74. See also Michael Bury, *The Print in Italy, 1550–1620*, exh. cat. (London: British Museum, 2001), 13–29.

618. See Mary Merrifield, *Medieval and Renaissance Treatises on the Arts of Painting: Original Texts with English Translations* (1849; repr., Mineola, NY: Dover Editions, 1999), clxxvii, cccxi, 457.

619. The print is tipped in between leaves I2 and I3 in the copies at the Beinecke Library, Yale University; the New York Public Library; the Getty Research Institute; the National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC; and the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

620. In the Washington, DC copy, the engraving is tipped in between leaves G4 and H1, rather than between E3 and E4 as in the other copies I examined.

621. For instance, Laurie Nussdorfer suggests that some pages of text describing two different festivities in seventeenth-century Rome were inadvertently switched in some copies of their respective

pamphlets, both printed by Francesco Cavalli ("Print and Pageantry in Baroque Rome," 457n53).

622. Bezzi, *FT*, 82.

623. Bezzi, *FT*, 79: "La Livia . . . un dolcissimo soprano . . . ricopriva col canto la necessaria prosa, che in quando in quando si dava alla Macchina, massime quando giunta a gli Archi Trionfali incapaci della sua altezza, e per mezzo di nascoste ruote, e di fuste s'impiccolava ad un tratto . . . a più semplici, che in vedendola di nuovo passato l'arco senz'esser toccata ergersi alla sua prima altezza, se la credevano una Colona animata e quale appunto era la Colonna, che per lo Deserto guidava il Popolo Giudaico."

624. Kelly Oliver, *Witnessing: Beyond Recognition* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 86: "We have both the juridical sense of bearing witness to what you know from experience as an eyewitness and the religious sense of bearing witness to what you believe through blind faith."

625. Bezzi, *FT*, 6, transcription given in Chapter 1, note 48.

626. Portus and Vega describe three types of prints for festivals: 1) those that take part in ceremony as decoration, 2) devotional images for private use, and 3) narrative descriptions to commemorate the ephemeral act (*Estampa religiosa*, 265).

627. Bezzi, *FT*, 103: "Questo stendardo è descritto con qualche divario dalla forma, nella quale fu rappresentato in Pittura: l'Autore è stato sul primo dissegno datoli senza osserva poscia altra variatione."

628. ASForlì, Comune, Novanta Pacifici, 390, August–October 1636, 3, 37.

629. Bezzi, *FT*, 36: "principio della futura Colonna, che il Publico nostra ha risoluto dirizzare in honore di questa sua Protettrice, e memoria della sua Traslatione." See also Watanabe-O'Kelly, "Early Modern European Festivals," 21.

630. Sergio Fabbri, "Appunti di storia della Colonna," in *Il monumento alla Madonna del Fuoco di Forlì: Storia, Arte e Restauro* (Forlì: Rotary Club Forlì, 2003), 37. Spungone is very friable so an entirely new shaft had to be provided in 1927 when the column was reerected in Piazza del Duomo.

631. Bezzi, *FT*, 37: "e' il fuso della Colonna d'ordine dorico di p. 16 il suo diametro è di p. 2 onze 2 e col capitello & altri finimenti ascenderà all'altezza di p. 33 di pertica. Il piede della nostra pertica fa palmi Romani due, e un terzo."

632. The scale also shows that the total height of the monument as engraved is just shy of the 33 feet Bezzi had given it.

633. Mariacristina Gori, "Clemente Molli, scultore Bolognese," in *Il monumento alla Madonna del Fuoco di Forlì: Storia, Arte e Restauro* (Forlì: Rotary Club Forlì, 2003), 52.

634. "[Molli ha] trapassata la Fanciullezza negli studij dell'Humanità," *Le glorie de gli incogniti o vero gli Homini Illustri dell'Accademia de'Signori Incogniti di Venetia* (Venice: Francesco Valvasenese, 1647), 113 as cited in Paola Rossi, "Appunti sull'attività veneziana di Clemente Molli," *Venezia arti: bollettino del Dipartimento di storia e critica delle arti dell'Università di Venezia* 3 (1989): 66n7; Pellegrino Antonio Orlandi, *Notizie degli scrittori bolognesi e dell'opere loro stampate e manoscritte* (Bologna: Constantino Pisarri, 1714), 89 describes him as "Accademico Incognito di Venezia, Poeta, Architetto, Pittore, e Scultore. Lasciò varie Poesie M.S e un Libro intitolato, Architettura degli Adunamenti Universali."

635. Thieme and Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon*, vol. 25, 45; Paola Rossi, "Appunti sull'attività veneziana di Clemente Molli" and Laura Orbicciani, "Clemente Molli," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 75 (Treccani, 2011), accessed December 27, 2011, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/clemente-molli_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/.

636. Mariusz Karpowicz, "La colonne de Sigismond III a Varsovie. Contenu ideologique," *Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie* 18 (1977): 83–104. I have not been able to consult Barbara Zielinsky-Szymanowski, *Kolumna Zygmunta III w Warszawie* (Warsaw: Sztuka, 1957). On Tencalla, see Mariusz Karpowicz, *Artisti ticinesi in Polonia nel '600* ([Bellinzona]: Repubblica e Cantone del Ticino, 1983), 73–126 and Mariusz Karpowicz, *Baroque in Poland*, trans. Jerzy Baldyga (Warsaw: Arkady, 1991), 41–51.

637. On a brief history of the symbolism of the column, see Karpowicz, "La colonne de Sigismond III," 91–93. For Italian examples, see Werner Haftmann, *Das italienische Säulenmonument* (Hildesheim: Verlag Dr. H. A. Gerstenberg, 1972).

638. The sculpture's arrival was anticipated on April 10, 1639, by a request for the balance of the promised payment (ASForlì, Consigli, vol. 103, c. 76 r, accessed April 20, 2009, http://158.110.144.249:8080/archive/lida?command=project&action=open_record&project_id=10&card_id=1086). For the sculpture's arrival via ox-drawn cart from the port Candiano di Ravenna, see Sergio Fabbri, "Appunti di storia della Colonna," 37. Francesco Scannelli, *Il microcosmo della pittura* (Cesena, 1657), as cited in Gori, "Clemente Molli, scultore Bolognese," 53: "[La scultura] la quale appena scassata, e poscia al meglio dirizzata sopra il suolo, che osservata da genti d'ogni sorte, le quali stavano ad attenderla per ogni parte devote, in vederla anco maggiore di quello si erano immaginate, mancante in alcune parti di piena diligneza, proruppera con la solita libertà del paese in dire, che non piacea, ne meno stimavano che mai fosse per riuscire ad un tal proposito, il che presentito dal prudente Artefice, senza il soggiungere cosa in contrario procurò fosse immediatamente con panni ricoperta, e la mattina seguente la fece collocare al proprio luogo, dove

del continuo persiste alla vista d'ogni passeggiere, e dopo scoperta verso il mezzo giorno alla presenza di tutti, disse: Hora è il tempo di considerarla, e dare il proprio giudicio: e in effetto riuscì nel tutto confacevole al gusto universale in riguardo della proportione, che ottiene con la colonna, come della bella simmetria, e vera naturalezza, che la stessa figura mostra in se stessa conservare."

639. Giorgio Vasari, *Vite* (Florence: Giunti, 1568), vol. II, 403. See also Roger Tarr, "Brunelleschi and Donatello: Placement and Meaning in Sculpture," *Artibus et Historiae* 16 (1995): 101–40.

640. Earlier Marian columns certainly exist (see, for instance, Christopher Wood, "Ritual and the Virgin on the Column: The Cult of the Schöne Maria in Regensburg," *Journal of Ritual Studies* 6 [1991]: 87–107). However, the Madonna della Pace inaugurated a series of Baroque Marian columns, which included monuments in Munich, Vienna, and Prague. See, for the first, Michael Schattenhofer, *Die Mariensäule in München* (Munich: Schnell & Steiner, 1970), and, more generally, Susan Tipton, "'Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis . . .': Zur Entstehung der Mariensäulen im 17. Jahrhundert," in "Religion und Religiosität des Barock," in *Wolfenbütteler Arbeiten zur Barockforschung*, vol. 25, ed. Dieter Breuer (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1995), 375–98.

641. Steven Ostrow, "Paul V, the Column of the Virgin, and the New Pax Romana,"*Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 69 (Sept 2010): 352–77. See also Jennifer Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture*, 60n48, 60n49 and Howard Hibbard, *Carlo Maderno and Roman Architecture, 1580–1630* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 1971), 54, 201–2, 235.

642. Ostrow, "Paul V, the Column of the Virgin and the New Pax Romana," 366. See also Günter Bandmann, "Höhe und Säule auf Darstellungen Mariens mit dem Kinde," in *Festschrift für Gert von der Osten* (Cologne: DuMont Schauberg, 1970), 130–48.

643. D.O.M. AC DEIPARAE VIRGINI AB IGNE. FOROLIVII VRBIS PATRONAE | SERENTATIS ATQ PLVVIARVM MODERATRICI ET A PESTE SERVATRICI PRAESENTANEAE | IN EIVS IMAGINIS TRIVMPHALI RITV TRASLATAE MEMORIAM | FOROLIVIENSES EREXERVNT. XIII.KL.NOVEMB. AN. DOMIN MDCXXXVI.

644. *Inferno*, XXVII, 43–5.

645. Federica Rizzoli, "La piazza come sintesi di valori condivisi: ipotesi sull'oratorio della Crocetta," first accessed December 12, 2008, http://municipalia.sns.it/assets/files/contributi/2_intervento_rizzoli_25_giugno_08_oratorio_crocetta_definitivo.pdf, 3–4.

646. Rizzoli, "La piazza come sintesi di valori condivisi," 8–9.

647. Kirstin Noreen argues that Roman processions were similarly memorialized by confraternal insignia fixed onto facades along the route. See Noreen, "Sacred Memory and Confraternal Space: The Insignia of the Confraternity of the Santissimo Salvatore (Rome)," in *Roma Felix: Formation and Reflections of Medieval Rome*, ed. Éamonn Ó Carragáin and Carol L. Neuman de Vegvar (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 159–88.

648. Bezzi, *FT*, 37: "Quest'antica memoria fu spiantata dell'Anno 1616 d'ordine del Sig. Cardinale Rivarola, senza però alcun consenso del Publico, sotto pretesto di levare l'immondittie, che tallhora vi si facevano d'intorno."

649. Rizzoli, "La piazza come sintesi di valori condivisi," 9.

650. Rizzoli, "La piazza come sintesi di valori condivisi," 5–6.

CHAPTER EIGHT: MULTIPLIED: THE MADONNA OF THE FIRE IN FORLÌ AND BEYOND

651. Bezzi, *FT*, 17: "Non ben pago questo sacrato Fuoco della Vergine di risplendere nella Città, nel souraccennato tempo appunto si dilatò nel Territorio col concorso de'forastieri d'ogni contorno."

652. "Cara Madonna del Fuoco, ti prego di proteggerci dagli incendi e soppratutto dal peccato."

653. Gascoigne, *How to Identify Prints*, section 57g and figs. 259–60; Paul Ellis, "Static Pops Pictures onto Paper," *Popular Science*, January 1949, 157–60.

654. Areford, *Viewer and the Printed Image*, 64–103.

655. Bezzi, *FT*, 17: "All'esempio de' fanciulli il publico fece anch'egli dipingere la sacra Imagine soura tutte le porte della Città."

656. Freedberg, *Power of Images*, 99–104. For a study of the multiplication of another Marian icon, see Kirstin Noreen, "The Icon of Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome."

657. Zchomelidse, "The Aura of the Numinous and its Reproduction," 221–3, 238–41; Areford, "Multiplying the Sacred."

658. Richard Krautheimer, "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Architecture,'" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942): 1–33.

659. Areford, "Multiplying the Sacred," 124; Pon, *Raphael, Dürer, and Marcantonio Raimondi*, 27–33, 87–93.

660. Pon, *Raphael, Dürer, and Marcantonio Raimondi*, 113–15.

661. Pon, *Raphael, Dürer, and Marcantonio Raimondi*, 30–33. The quotation comes from the explicative note in Benjamin Delessert's pioneering publication of photographs of engravings by Marcantonio Raimondi, *Notice sur la vie de Marc Antoine*

Raimondi ... accompagneé de reproductions photographiques de quelques-unes de ses estampes (Paris: Goupil, 1853–55), 27: “non seulement l’effet général [du modèle], mais chaque trait, chaque contour doit être fidèlement rendu.”

662. See Freedberg, *Power of images*, 112–5 on “whether a few schematic indications are sufficient to ensure effectiveness.”

663. The throne of flames alone denotes the Madonna del Fuoco di Faenza. See Fra Giovanni da Grosuotto, *Miracoli e origini della Madonna del Fuoco di Faenza*, ed. Carlo Moschini (Faenza: Tip. Faentina, 2003).

664. On this type of misreading in devotional images, see David Morgan, *Visual Piety: A History and Theory of Popular Religious Images* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999), 34–49.

665. Ricceputi, *Istoria*, 77–9: “si stampano ogn’anno miliara, e migliara delle sue Immagini. Casa certo non v’è, dove non se ne vedano o stampate, o dipinte: Rare sono le porte, che non l’habbiano affissa: e rare son le persone, che non ne portino adosso un’Imaginetta o di tela o di seta, c’habbia toccato l’originale. . . . Per coltivare questo modo di particolar devozione, farà ben servirsi d’alcune Orazioncelle ... per esempio: *Vergine MARIA madre di Dio pregate GIESV’ per me*; solita dirsi da S. Filippo Neri. . . . Overo: *O MARIA in ogni loco arder bramo entro il tuo fuoco* ... Aggiungendo qualche volta un bacio cordiale alle medesime Immaginette, o ad altra effigie di MARIA che s’habbia commoda.”

666. Bezzi, *FT*, 16: “Non havea allhora, come non ha tuttavia Casa publica, o privata, in cui non si vedesse dipinta in tela, o almeno miniata in carta Santa Maria del Fuoco. Questo mirabile Fuoco non potendo contenersi racchiuso uscì allhora fuora delle Porte, e delle fenestre, e volle farsi adorare sù le Mura delle Case. Non era strada, ò piazza, in cui non apparisse il sacro Ritratto. Questo cominciò a servire d’un santo passatempo à Fancuilli: giunti appena dalle scuole invece di darsi a soliti puerili trattenimenti, si occupavano tutti in far dipingere, in adornare, & in mille guise arricchire le prefate Imagini di nostra Signora. Quivi accendevano candelette e lampane appendedvano squille, e col suono invitavano le vicine genti, che seco concorrevano d’ogni età, d’ogni sesso a cantar lodi e recitar preci. In fine delle Litanìe s’intonava sempre questo versetto. Regina ab Igne Protetrix nostra, ora pro nobis.”

667. Elio Caruso, *Le incallite terre: vita e lavoro nelle campagne forlivesi dell’ottocento* (Ravenna: M. Lapucci, Edizione del Girasole, 1982), 41 and fig. 11.

668. Antoniano, *Dell’educazione cristiana e politica*, 139.

669. ASRoma, Atti di Cesare De Parchettis, vol. 362, ff. 83r-88v, Sept 9, 1712 as cited in Carlo Grigoni, *Giovanni Giardini da Forlì: Argentiere e Fonditore a Roma* (Rocca San Casciano: Arti Grafiche Cappelli, 1963), 26–7n23 and 58–9: “Nella camera: ... Una Madonna del Foco in carta cornice nera filettata d’oro.”

670. Giovanni Giardini and Maximilian Joseph Limpach, *Disegni diversi inventati e delineati da Giovanni Giardini da Forlì, argentiere del Palazzo Apostolici e fondatore della Reverenda Camera* (repr., Florence: Edizioni S.P.E.S., 1978). A Latin edition was published in Rome in 1750. On Giovanni Giardini, see Alvar González-Palacios, “Giovanni Giardini: New Works and New Documents,” *Burlington Magazine*, 137(1995): 367–376; Grigoni, *Giovanni Giardini da Forlì*.

671. *Storia di Forlì*, vol. 3, 273; Angelo Lipinsky, “Arte orafa a Roma: Giovanni Giardini da Forlì,” *Arte illustrata*, IV (1971): 18–34, 34n7; Jennifer Montagu, *Gold, Silver, and Bronze*, 15–17 and 117–32; Grigoni, *Giovanni Giardini da Forlì*, 55; Domenichini, Menghi, and Severi, *Guida di Forlì*, 25; Silvia D’Altri, *Duomo di S. Croce in Forlì* (Bologna: Studio Costa, 2000), 15.

672. A variant spelling of the cardinal’s family name is Paulucci. On the Cignani dome paintings, Fabrizio Antonio Monsignani, *Le gare della natura e dell’arte: discorso ... nello scoprirsi nel Duomo l’Assunzion di Maria dipinta da Carlo Cignani* (Forlì: Dandi, 1706); Beatrice Buscaroli Fabbri, *Carlo Cignani* (Bologna: Nuova Alfa, 1991), 190–6; Orlando Piraccini and Elisabetta Ricca Rosellini, *La cupola della Madonna del Fuoco nella Cattedrale di Forlì: L’opera forlivese di Carlo Cignani* (Bologna: Alfa, 1979).

673. Nediani, *La Madonna del Fuoco e la sua cappella*, 20–21.

674. Mariacristina Gori, “Le espressioni artistiche nei secoli XVII e XVIII,” in *Storia di Forlì, vol. 3: L’età moderna*, 286–8.

675. Gaddi, *Lettera istorica*, 3: “quell’affetto tenerissimo, ch’Ella nudre della sua Patria.”

676. Gian Ludovico Masetti Zannini, *La settecentesca cappella della Madonna del Fuoco e di San Pellegrino Laziosi* (Rome: Litost. Nomentana, 1975), 2. I am grateful to Antonella Imolesi, who provided me with a copy of this rare publication.

677. Giordano Viroli and Mariacristina Gori, *Palazzi di Forlì* (Bologna: Nova Alfa, 1995), 222.

678. Masetti Zannini, *La settecentesca cappella*, 5.

679. On the chapel and its decoration, see Laura Gigli, *San Marcello al Corso* (Rome: Fratelli Palombi, 1996), 101–7; Edgar Peter Bowron and Joseph Rishel, *Art in Rome in the Eighteenth Century*, exh. cat. Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2000 (London: Merrell Publishers, 2000), 414–5. On Milani, see Renato Roli, “Per l’attività romana di Aurelio Milani,” *Arte Antica e Moderna*, 27 (1964): 341–8 and Bowron and Rishel, *Art in Rome*, 414. I have not

been able to consult Aristide Serra, "Appunti critici alla vita di S. Pellegrino Laziosi di Nicolò Borghese (1432–1500)," (unpublished thesis for the licentiate in theology, Pontifical Theological Faculty "Marianum" Rome, 1960).

680. Vernon Hyde Minor, "Tommaso Righi's Roman Sculpture: A Catalogue," *Burlington Magazine* (Nov. 1984), 673 cat. no. 8.

681. Bezzi, *FT*, 8. See Chapter 4 for further discussion of this passage.

682. Gigli, *S. Marcello al Corso*, 105–6. Pietro Bracci is best known for the central figures of the Trevi Fountain in Rome. See John Pinto, *The Trevi Fountain* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986).

683. Masetti Zannini, *La settecentesca cappella*, 5.

684. "Campione universale del Convento di San Marcello riformato e accresiuto da me maestro Angiolo Maria Freddi da Bologna, priore per l'anno MDCLXVII," Archivio di San Marcello, Chiese, altari, sacrestia, 1585–1900, c. 202, as cited in Masetti Zannini, *La settecentesca cappella*, 4.

685. Bowron and Rishel, *Art in Rome in the Eighteenth Century*, 415.

686. Augusto Vasina, "I vescovi di Cervia dal XII al XV secolo," in *Storia della Chiesa di Cervia*, ed. Marino Mengozzi (Cesena: Stilgraf, 2003); Casanova, *Comunità e Governo Pontificio in Romagna in Età Moderna*, p. 209. After World War II, the Diocese of Cervia was suppressed to join the Metropolitan Archdiocese of Ravenna-Cervia.

687. Casanova, *Comunità e Governo Pontificio in Romagna in Età Moderna*, 228.

688. Gabriele Gardini, "Cervia Vecchia: Materiali per lo studio della città," *Studi romagnoli* 49 (1998): 101–29.

689. Archivio Storico di Cervia, Confraternita della B. V del Fuoco, March 2, 1671 as cited in Umberto Foschi, "I salinari di Cervia e la Madonna del Fuoco," *Bollettino economico: Mensile della Camera di Commercio, Industria e Agricoltura* 9 (1968): 803–4; ASRavenna, Partizione III, Corporazioni Religiosi, Cervia, vol. 2617, c. 2, published as Doc. 2 in Alessandra Mingardi, *Le feste di Cervia nella storia e nei documenti* (Ravenna: Longo, 1999), 91–2. Ferdinando Forlivese (*Cervia Cenni Storici*, 131) lists eight Augustinian brothers of S. Giorgio, ranging in age from 29–55 around 1692, I have been unable to locate the site of San Giorgio degli Agostini in Cervia Vecchia. See also Gabriele Gardini, *Cervia Immagine e Progetto* (Ravenna: Longo, 1998), 84.

690. ASRavenna, Partizione III, Corporazioni Religiose, Cervia, vol 2617, 16–17: "alcuni Angeli, e cerubini di tutto di sua invenzione fuori del concordato, ed il dissegno de candelieti, vasi, e croce." I have not been able to find Andrea Barbiani's altarpiece, but the price for it is close to the 26 scudi he was paid in 1746 for an altarpiece of San Felice da Cantalice and other Cappucin saints for the Cappuchin convent in Cesenatico. See Nadia Ceroni and Giordano Viroli, *La Bottega dei Barbiani: Due secoli d'arte a Ravenna* (Ravenna: Longo, 1994), 131.

691. Umberto Foschi, "I Salinari di Cervia e la Madonna del Fuoco," in *Cervia tra il Settecento e l'Ottocento* (Ravenna: Edizioni CAPIT, 1998), 88.

692. Pasini, *Storia*, 56; Mingardi, *Le feste di Cervia*, 9–20.

693. The 1671 concession of the altar in San Giorgio degli Agostini stipulated two annual festivities, one on February 4 and one "ad libitum, cioé quando parerà, e piacerà agli Ilustrissimi Signori Superiori Ecclesiatici."

694. Foschi, "I salinari di Cervia e la Madonna del Fuoco," 804.

695. Giorgio Chittolini, "Civic Religion and the Countryside in Late Medieval Italy," in *City and Countryside in Late Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Essays Presented to Philip Jones*, ed. Trevor Dean and Chris Wickham (London: Hambledon Press, 1990).

696. Chittolini, "Civic Religion and the Countryside," 75.

697. For example, Biblioteca Comunale di Forlì, Fondo Piancastelli, 179 c. 49. See also Mingardi, *Le feste di Cervia*, 10, 65.

698. Bezzi, *FT*, 22.

699. Foschi, "I salinari di Cervia e la Madonna del Fuoco," 804.

700. Bezzi, *FT*, 46–7 and 86–8. Fusignano's confraternity of the Holy Rosary had been in existence since at least 1573. See Silvia Dominici, "Associazionismo religioso, politico, sportive e ricreative," in *La storia di Fusignano*, ed. Massimo Baioni, Alfredo Belletti, and Giuseppe Bellosi (Ravenna: Longo, 2006), 556.

701. Giuseppe Fignagnani, *Storia di Fusignano* (Bologna: Atesa, 2000), 119–26; Giacomo Zaccaria, *Storia di Meldola e del suo territorio*, vol. II (Meldola: Cura della pro loco "Citta di Meldola," 1980), 250–3; Fabio Lombardi, *Storia di Meldola* (Cesena: Società Editoriale "Il Ponte Vecchio," 2000), 103.

702. Bezzi, *FT*, 83: "vi fu riposta [in the cathedral] con uguale divotione del Cittadino, e del Forestiere. E in verità non fu minore miracolo de gli altri orperati in quella giornata dalla Vergine, che tra tanta quantità di popolo di diverse luoghi, e paesi non si sentisse, non che quistioni, riffe, e batosse, ma ne anche qualunque altro minimo disturbo. Le gente tutte legate da una meravigliosa divotione non seppero che adorare questo miracolo dell'Universo fatto nel Fuoco da Maria."

703. Ricceputi, *Istoria*, 45: "non è da passare sotto silenzio la venerazione della Città di Cervia verso questa SS. Immagine, che non solo ha già eletta per Padrona questa Madonna del Fuoco di Forlì, ma

vengono a visitarla ogni certo tempo prefisso, recandone sempre somma notabile di cere, e denari in tributo; siccome fin da principio vi lascariono una ricca Pianeta di fondo d'ore con due vasi d'argento, & un ben grande Stendardo. Anzi per supplire in qualche parte alla lontananza, hanno eretto dentro quella Città nella Chiesa de' Padri Agostiniani un'Altare sotto l'invocazione di questa Immagine, facendovi solennissima Festa la seconda Domenico di Giugno: senza però divertire d'uno neo dal consueto ricorso a questo Originale, avanti del quale fanno cantare talora Messe solenni con musica a spese loro."

704. Umberto Foschi, "I salinari di Cervia e la Madonna del Fuoco," 807.

705. Oscar Turroni, personal communication, January 17, 2013.

706. The Cervian saltmakers' participation in 2011 can be viewed at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7WKFNoFr-VU and http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Wfk5BIdnq9c (5:56–6:12). On the festivities of February 4, 2013, see Pietro Ghetti, "Forlì è in festa per la Madonna del Fuoco," *Forlì Today*, February 3, 2013, http://www.forlitoday.it/cronaca/festa-madonna-fuoco-forli.html. Pier Maria Zattoni and Giorgio Liverani, both native Forlivesi, gave me their personal impressions of the 2013 festivities in text and image (personal communications, February 4, 2013 and February 9, 2013).

707. Fiumi's painting is 59 cm × 49 cm and together with its frame measures 88 cm × 77.5 cm; the Madonna of the Fire now is 493 mm × 397 mm. I thank Gabriele Bernabini for these measurements (personal communication, February 28, 2013).

708. Alois Riegl, "The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Origin," trans. Kurt Forster and D. Ghirardo, *Oppositions* 25 (1982): 20–51. Riegl is of course speaking of the monument itself; in this case we are considering a monument's copies, to which Riegl's ideas can be applied. See Sebastiano Barassi, "The Modern Cult of Replicas: A Rieglian Analysis of Values in Replication," *Tate Papers: Tate's Online Research Journal* 8 (2007), http://www.tate.org.uk/download/file/fid/7325.

709. Pon, *Raphael, Dürer, and Marcantonio Raimondi*, 30–33. See n. 158 above.

710. Krautheimer, "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Architecture.'"

711. The trope of a miraculous Madonna in a tree is a widespread one. See Robert Maniura, "Pilgrimage into Words and Images: The Miracles of Santa Maria delle Carceri in Renaissance Prato," in *Pilgrim Voices: Narrative and Authorship in Christian Pilgrimage*, ed. Simon Coleman and John Elsner (n. p.: Berghahn Books, 2003), 58–9; Freedberg, *Power of Images*, 138–41.

712. Bezzi, *FT*, 17. Aside from this reference, Brunelli's work as an architect is unknown. See Pirri, "Intagliatori gesuiti," 26.

713. Ricceputi, *Istoria*, 41: "v'hanno eretta quella gran Chiesa, che saria degna del centro d'una Città."

714. Umberto Pasqui, "La nuova celletta di Villa Rovere." *Il Momento*, 9 (October 2009), 22. See fig. 100.

715. Valerio Baroncini, "Sepolta dai rovi," *Il Resto del Carlino*, February 5, 2008.

716. Giovanni Panettiere, "Madonna del fuoco, la celletta torna a vivere," *Il Resto del Carlino*, October 9, 2009.

717. Gianluca Tronconi, personal communication, January 25, 2013.

718. Pasqui, "La nuova celletta di Villa Rovere," 22. See figure 100.

719. Panettiere, "Madonna del fuoco, la celletta torna a vivere": "Finalmente la celletta della Madonna del fuoco in via Firenze ha trovato pace."

720. Gianluca Tronconi, personal communication, January 25, 2013.

721. Bertaccccini, "Una colletta per la Madonna del Fuoco": "Dovremo rifare l'immagine della Madonna del Fuoco richaimando la storia ma anche attualizzandola."

722. The new shrine is 3 meters high, with a base of 2.25 × 40 square meters. See Bertaccini, "Una colletta per la Madonna del Fuoco" and Gianluca Troconi, personal communication, January 25, 2013. On the festivities, see Panettiere, "Madonna del fuoco, la celletta torna a vivere" and Pasqui, "La nuova celletta di Villa Rovere."

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Abbreviations

ASForlì Archivio di Stato, Forlì
ASRavenna Archivio di Stato, Ravenna
ASRoma Archvio di Stato, Roma
ASVat Achivio Segreto Vaticano
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